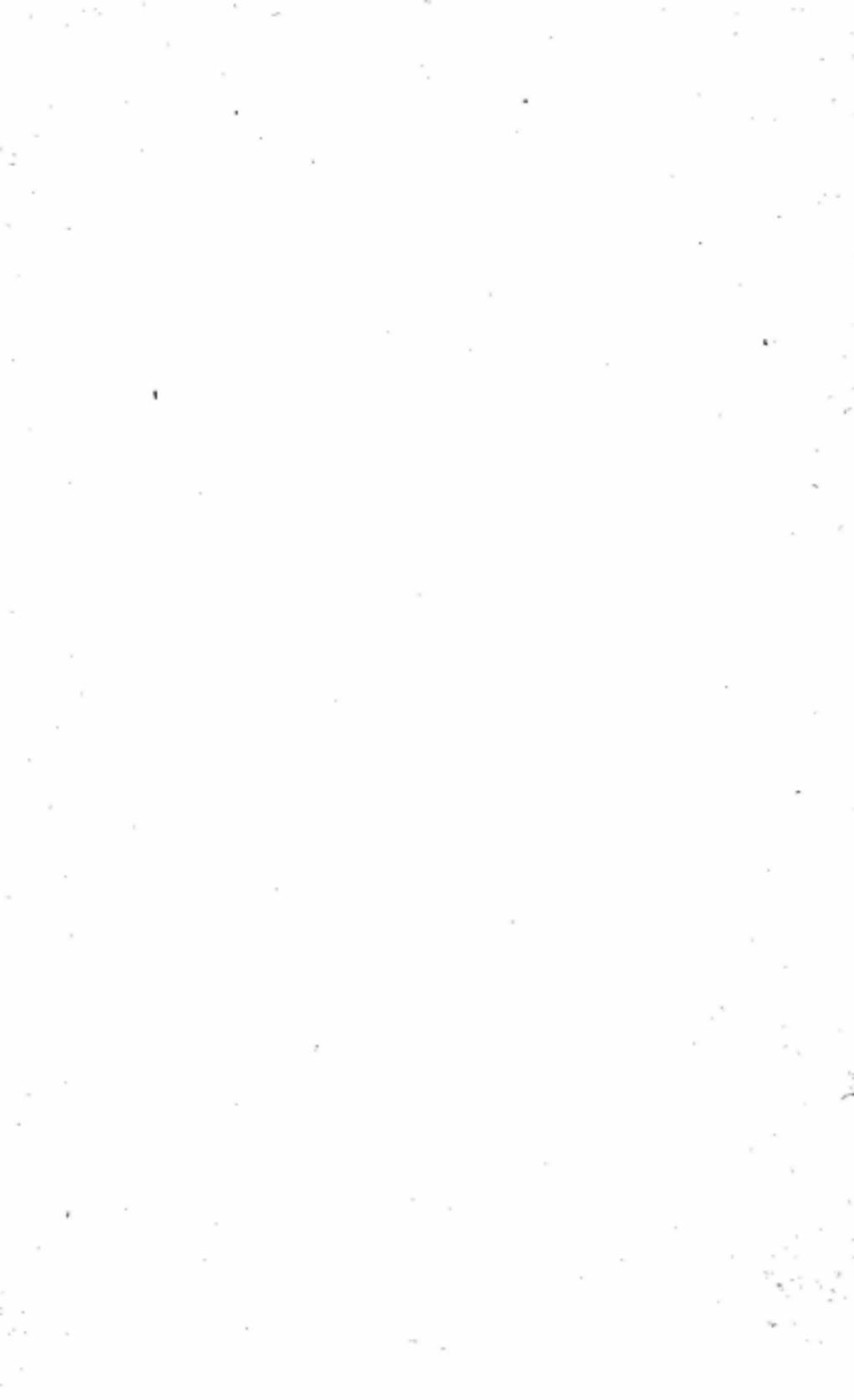


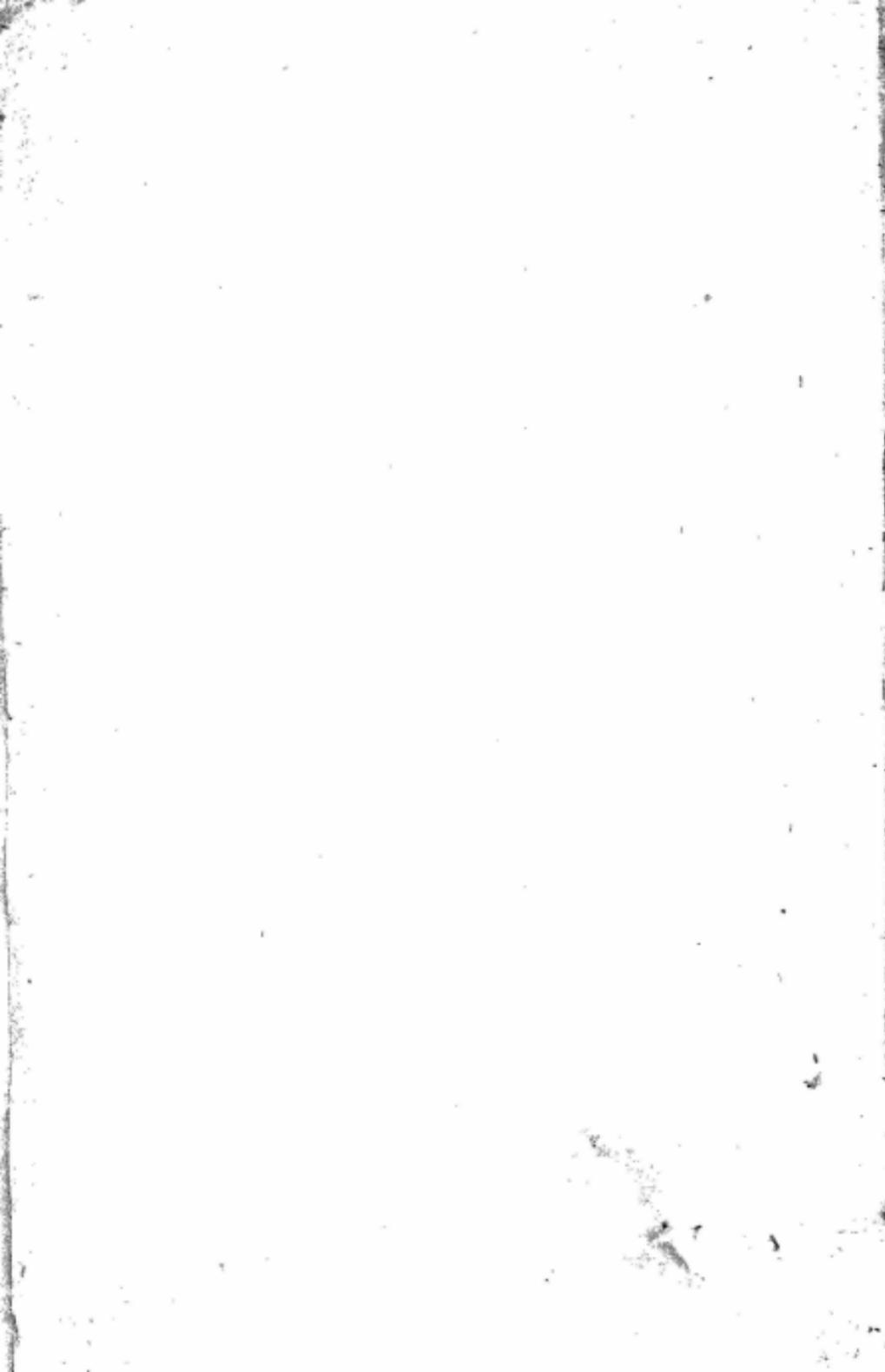
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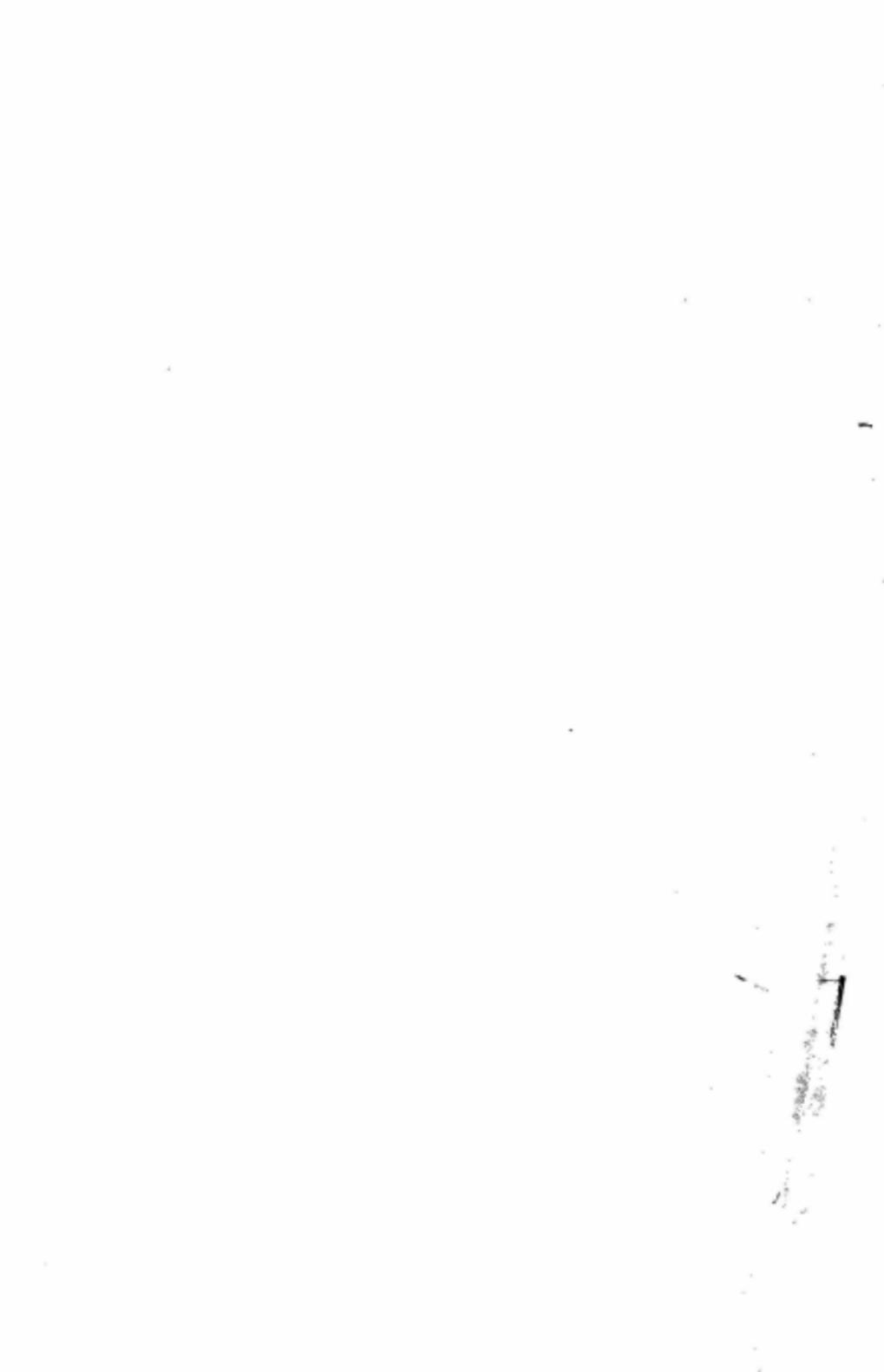
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FOOD AND DRINKS
IN
ANCIENT INDIA



FOOD AND DRINKS IN ANCIENT INDIA

(FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO C. 1200 A.D.)

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF INDIA

ANCIENT PERIOD, PART II

by

OM PRAKASH

With a Foreword by

Dr. B. CH. CHHABRA

JOINT DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA

NEW DELHI

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PREFACE

This monograph on Food and Drinks in Ancient India is mainly a study of the food habits of Indians from the earliest times to C. 1200 A.D. in which I have tried to reconstruct the picture on the basis of all available sources—literary, epigraphic and archaeological. This was originally written as a thesis for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Delhi and later approved by it.

I am profoundly grateful to Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Head of the Department of Indology, Benares Hindu University, who advised me to undertake this work. To my *Itibāṣaguru*, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, and my supervisor, Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, I am highly indebted for their kind guidance and advice. I have received help and encouragement from various sources, from colleagues, as well as scholars engaged in research work. Special mention should be made here also of late Dr. P. K. Gode, who ungrudgingly supplied me with all the information I asked for.

Dr. V. S. Agrawala had kindly agreed to write a Foreword to this monograph but unfortunately I could not have the privilege of it on account of his serious illness. When the publication of the book was nearing completion, I approached Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Joint Director-General of Archaeology in India, with a request to write a few words and I am profoundly grateful to him for the favour he has done me by contributing a Foreword to this book.

I am also grateful to Sri L. G. Parab, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, New Delhi, for kindly allowing me the opportunity to consult the books on the subject in his Library. To my Publishers, Messrs Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, my thanks are due for the great interest they have taken in the book and the nice style in which they have brought it out. I have also received the fullest co-operation from the Printers, The Allahabad Law Journal Press Ltd., Allahabad.

Finally, I would be failing in my duty if I did not acknow-

ledge the constant encouragement and inspiration which I received from my father Sri Durga Prasad whose saintly life of self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of education will always serve as a guiding star to me.

KIRORIMAL COLLEGE,
DELHI UNIVERSITY

OM PRAKASH

FOREWORD

The most obvious is least noticed. Eyes refuse to see the nearest. In history, one is prone to probe into weighty problems concerning rise and fall of empires, wars and treaties between nations, policies and principles behind constitutions, and the like. Ordinary events are taken for granted. They are often brushed aside as something unworthy of serious attention.

'Food is life' अन्नं वै प्राणः expound the *Upanisads*, and 'All actions stem from food' सर्वरस्मा आदत्-प्रस्थ-मूलाः says an adage; but how often does one think of what gives life and activates, in terms of history or even otherwise?

Old and narrow conception of history having given place to a new and all-embracing one, historians of today are venturing upon untrodden fields and are bringing into limelight what hitherto lay dim and obscure, thereby broadening knowledge and enriching history. The present disquisition of Dr. Om Prakash is indeed a venture of that description.

He confines his enquiry to *Food and Drinks in Ancient India* and goes as far back as the material available could take him. Life on earth began with hunt for food, and continues as such, with endless variety and variation that certainly make a *history* worth studying.

Dr. Om Prakash has presented the results of his limited but intensive investigation in a very readable manner. He has marshalled the data in a way at once instructive and interesting. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating : the reader is invited to eat it.

B. CH. CHHABRA

NEW DELHI,
Thursday, June 22, 1961.

Joint Director-General of Archaeology
in India, New Delhi.

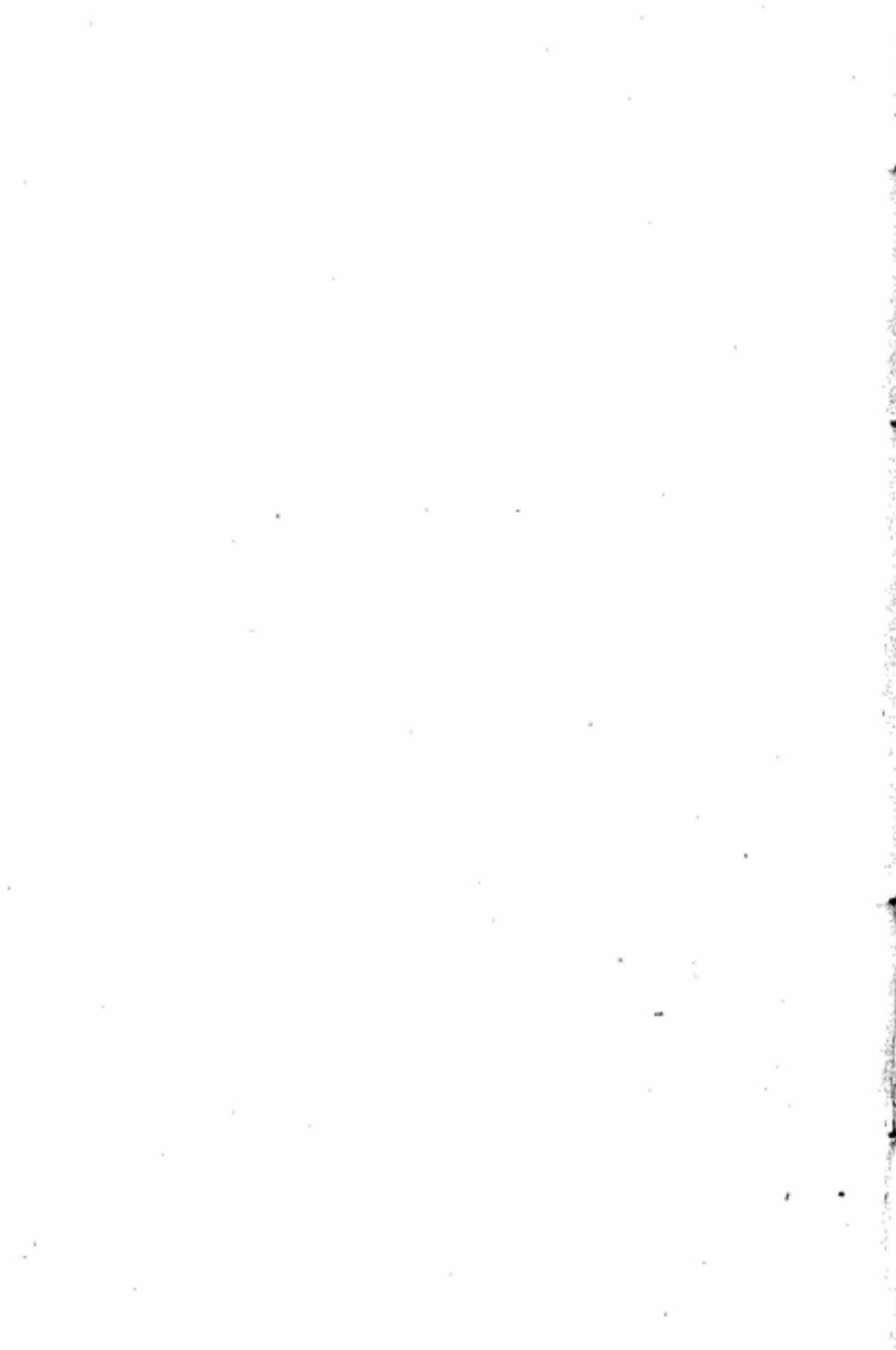


TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGES
Scheme of Transliteration	xi
Abbreviations	xii
INTRODUCTION	xvii
CHAPTER I	
Prehistoric Civilizations	1—6
CHAPTER II—(C. 2000 B.C.—C. 800 B.C.)	
Vedic Period	7—33
CHAPTER III—(C. 800 B.C.—C. 325 B.C.)	
Section 1—Sūtra Period	34—57
Section 2—Early Buddhist and Jain Works ..	58—86
CHAPTER IV—(C. 325 B.C.—C. 75 A.D.)	
Section 1—Maurya and Sunga Period ..	87—101
Section 2—The Epics and the Manusmṛti ..	102—131
CHAPTER V—(C. 75 A.D.—C. 300 A.D.)	
The Kuṣāṇa and Saka Sātavāhana Period ..	132—167
CHAPTER VI—(C. 300 A.D.—C. 750 A.D.)	
Gupta Period	168—202
CHAPTER VII—(C. 750 A.D.—C. 1200 A.D.)	
Post-Gupta Period	203—239
CHAPTER VIII	
Conclusion	240—247
APPENDIX I—Frying in Ancient India upto C. 500 A.D.	249—250
APPENDIX II—Sugar Industry in Ancient India	251—252
APPENDIX III—Betel-chewing in Ancient India	253—254
APPENDIX IV—Smoking in Ancient India	255—257
APPENDIX V—A Short Note on <i>Stabalī</i>	258—259
APPENDIX VI—Antiquity of Certain Food Articles in India	
A—Cereals	260—263
B—Pulses	263—265
C—Oil Seeds	265—266

	PAGES
D—Fruits	266—272
E—Vegetables	272—279
F—Spices	279—283
APPENDIX VII—Food Preparations	
A—Vegetarian	284—295
B—Non-vegetarian	295—297
APPENDIX VIII—Beverages	
A—Intoxicating Drinks	298—301
B—Other Beverages	301—304
APPENDIX IX—Books on Food and Drinks in India	305—306
APPENDIX X—Articles in Journals on Food and Drinks in Ancient India	307—309
APPENDIX XI—General Bibliography	310—322
APPENDIX XII—Chronology of Important Sources	323—324
INDEX	325—341

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	..	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Aca.	..	Ācārāṅga Sūtra
Ait. Ar.	..	Aitareya Āraṇyaka
Ait. Br.	..	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
Amar.	..	Amarakośa
Angv.	..	Āngavijjā
Ang.	..	Ānguttaranikāya
Antagadadasao.	..	Antakṛtadaśāṅga
Ap. Dh. Su.	..	Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra
Ap. Gr. Su.	..	Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra
Ap. Sm.	..	Āpastamba Smṛti
Ap. Sr. Su.	..	Āpastamba Srauta Sūtra
Arch.	..	Archaeological
A.S.S.	..	Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series
Ast. Hrd.	..	Āṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya
Ast. Sam.	..	Āṣṭāṅga Saṅgraha
Asv. Gr. Su.	..	Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Asv. Sm.	..	Āśvalāyana Smṛti
Asv. Sr. Su.	..	Āśvalāyana Srauta Sūtra
Av.	..	Atharvaveda
Av. Cu.	..	Āvaśyaka Sūtra Cūrṇi
Barua.	..	Āśoka and his Inscriptions
Baud. Gr. Sesa. Su.	..	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Śeṣa Sūtra
Baud. Gr. Su.	..	Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Bhagavat	..	Bhāgavata Purāṇa
Bhag.	..	Bhagavatī Sūtra
Bharata	..	Nāṭyaśāstra
Bhavi.	..	Bhavisayatta Kahā
Bhela	..	Bhela Saṅhitā
Bhikkhu Pati.	..	Bhikkhu Pātimokkha
Bhikkhuni Pati.	..	Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha
Bra.	..	Brāhmaṇa
Brhatk	..	Brhatkalpa Sūtra

Brhatk. Bha.	..	Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra Bhāṣya
Brh. Up.	..	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad
Caraka.	..	Caraka Saṃhitā
Chand. Up.	..	Chāndogya Upaniṣad
C.I.I.	..	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
C.S.S.	..	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares
Culla.	..	Cullavagga
Dasv.	..	Daśavaikālīka Sūtra
Dhamma.	..	Dhammapada
Dh. Su.	..	Dharma Sūtra
Dicy. of Eco. Pro- ducts of India		Dictionary of Economic Products of India by Watt
Digh.	..	Dīghanikāya
Div.	..	Divyāvadāna
F.D.A.I.	..	Food and Drinks in Ancient India
f.n.		footnote
Gaut. Dh. Su.	..	Gautama Dharma Sūtra
Gaut Sm.	..	Gautama Smṛti
Gobh. Gr. Su.	..	Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra
G.O.S.	..	Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda
Gr. Su. (H)	..	Gṛhya Sūtra (Hindi Translation)
Harappa.	..	Excavations at Harappa by M.S. Vats.
Hiran. Gr. Su.	..	Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra
H.I.L.	..	History of Indian Literature
Harṣa	..	Harṣacarita
I.H.Q...	..	Indian Historical Quarterly
Itsing	..	I-tsing by Takakusu
J.	..	Jātakas by Fausboll
Jaim. Bra.	..	Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa
Jambu..	..	Jambudvīpa Prajñapti
J.C. Jain	..	Ancient India as described in Jain Canon
Jaim. Up. Bra.	..	Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa
Jiva.	..	Jivajivābhigama by Vātsyāyana
Kama.	..	Kāma-sūtra
Kāmandaka	..	Nītiśāstra
Kāsyapa	..	Kāsyapa Saṃhitā
Kāṭh. Saṃ	..	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā
Katy. Gr. Su.	..	Kātyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Katy. Sr. Su.	..	Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra

Kaus. Bra.	..	..	Kauśitakī Brāhmaṇa
Kaut.	..	..	Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra
Kav. Mim.	..	..	Kāvya Mīmāṃsā
Kh. Gr. Su.	..	..	Khadira Gṛhya Sūtra
Kielhorn	..	..	Mahābhāṣya
Kirat.	..	..	Kirātārjunīya
Kumar	..	..	Kumārasambhava
Kurma	..	..	Kürma Purāṇa
Latya. Sr. Su.	..	..	Lātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
Legge	..	..	Fa-hien's record of Buddhist kingdoms
Mackay	..	..	Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro
Majjhim	..	..	Majjhima Nikāya
Mait. Sam.	..	..	Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
Malavika.	..	..	Mālavikāgnimitra
Manas.	..	..	Māṇasollāsa
Manav. Gr. Su.	..	..	Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra
Manu.	..	..	Manusmṛti
Markandeya	..	..	Märkanḍeya Purāṇa
Marshall	..	..	Mohenjodaro and Indus Civilization, by Sir John Marshall
Matsya.	..	..	Matsya Purāṇa
Mbh.	..	..	Mahābhārata
Adi.	..	..	Ādi Parva
Anu.	..	..	Anuśāsana Parva
Astrama	..	..	Āśramavāsi Parva
Asv.	..	..	Āśvamedha Parva
Karna.	..	..	Karṇa Parva
Maus.	..	..	Mausala Parva
Sabha.	..	..	Sabhā Parva
Salya.	..	..	Salya Parva
Santi.	..	..	Sānti Parva
Udyoga	..	..	Udyoga Parva
Van.	..	..	Vana Parva
Virat.	..	..	Virāṭa Parva
Milind.	..	..	Milindapanha
Mmk.	..	..	Arya Manjuśrīmūlakalpa, ed. Ganapati Sāstri
Mrch.	..	..	Mṛcchakaṭikā
M.S.V.	..	..	Mula Sarvastivada Vinaya, Gilgit MSS., Ed. Nalinaksa Dutt

Mv.	..	..	Mahāvagga
Naisadha.	..	..	Naiṣadha Carita
Naya.	..	..	Jñātādharmakathāṅga
Newlight	..	..	New Light on the most Ancient East, by V.G. Gordon
Nisi.	..	..	Niśītha Sūtra
Pac.	..	..	Pāccittiya
Pan.	..	..	Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī
Panc. Bra.	..	..	Pañcavirhśa Brāhmaṇa
Panini.	..	..	Aṣṭādhyāyī
Panini (H)	..	..	Pāṇini Kālīna Bhārata by V.S. Agrawal
Panna.	..	..	Prajñāpanā Sūtra
Par. Gr. Su.	..	..	Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra
Patanjali	..	..	Mahābhāṣya
Piggot	..	..	Prehistoric India by Stuart Piggot
Pinda Nir.	..	..	Piṇḍa Niruykti
P.O.	..	..	Poona Orientalist
Pu.	..	..	Purāṇa
Q.J.M.S.	..	..	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
Raghu.	..	..	Raghuvarhśa
Rama.	..	..	Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki
Aran.	..	..	Aranya Kāṇḍa
Ay.	..	..	Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa
Bal.	..	..	Bāla Kāṇḍa
Kisk.	..	..	Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa
Sundara.	..	..	Sundara Kāṇḍa
Uttar.	..	..	Uttara Kāṇḍa
Yuddha.	..	..	Yuddha Kāṇḍa
Raya.	..	..	Rāyapaseṇaiya Sutta
Rv.	..	..	R̥gveda
Sabara	..	..	Sabara Bhāṣya on Jaimini
Sad. Bra.	..	..	Ṣadvimśa Brāhmaṇa
Sakuntala	..	..	Abhijñāna Śākuntalam
Sam.	..	..	Saṁhitā
Samyutta	..	..	Saṁyutta Nikāya
Sankh. Ar.	..	..	Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka
Sankh. Gr. Su.	..	..	Sāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra
Sankh. Sm.	..	..	Sāṅkhāyana Smṛti
Sankh. Sr. Su.	..	..	Sāṅkhāyana Srauta Sūtra

Sat. Bra.	..	..	Satapatha Brāhmaṇa
S.B.B.	..	..	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
Sm.	..	..	Smṛti.
Sr. Su.	..	..	Śrauta Sūtra
Sukra	..	..	Sukranītisāra
Susruta.	..	..	Suśruta Saṁhitā
Suṣeṇa	..	..	Anna Pāna Vidhi
Sutra	..	..	Sūtra Kṛtāṅga Sūtra
Sutt. Np.	..	..	Suttanipāta
Tait. Bra.	..	..	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Tait. Sam.	..	..	Taittirīya Saṁhitā
Tait. Up.	..	..	Taittirīya Upaniṣad
Tandula	..	..	Taṇḍula Vaikālika Sūtra
Tha.	..	..	Sthāṇaṅga Sūtra
Thera G.	..	..	Thera Gāthā
Ti.	..	..	Tikā (Commentary)
Uttara.	..	..	Uttarādhyayana Sūtra
Uttaracarita	..	..	Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti
Uva.	..	..	Upāsaka Daśāṅga
Vag. I	..	..	Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha
Vag. II	..	..	Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya
Vaijayanti	..	..	A lexicon by Yādavaprakāśa
Vaikh.	..	..	Vaikhāṇasa Smṛta Sūtra
Vaj. Sam.	..	..	Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā
Vas. Dh. Su.	..	..	Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra
Vayu	..	..	Vāyu Purāṇa
Ved. Ind.	..	..	Vedic Index
Vilasavati	..	..	Vilāsavatikathā
Vimana.	..	..	Vimānavatthu
Vin.	..	..	Vinayapiṭaka
Vipaka.	..	..	Vipāka Sūtra
Visnu. Dh. Pu.	..	..	Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa
Visnu. Dh. Su.	..	..	Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra
Vv.	..	..	Vimanavatthu, P.T.S. 1886
Wheeler	..	..	Indus Civilization by R.E.M. Wheeler in Cambridge History Supplement
Winternitz.	..	..	A History of Indian Literature
Yaj.	..	..	Yājñavalkya Smṛti

INTRODUCTION

Of the three primary needs of an individual, food, clothing and shelter, food occupies the most important place. In the early stages of civilization man was essentially a food gatherer and lived on the flesh of animals he killed and the wild roots, fruits and flowers which he gathered. But later, making use of his superior intelligence, he began to tame wild animals and raise crops. This was a great step forward in solving the ever present problem of food. With the advancement in civilization he began to improve his food both with regard to its taste and its nutritive value. Complexities of life led to complexities of food. Man began to prepare delicious dishes by intermixture of various articles of food and by cooking them in different ways. He began also to bring together articles of food from distant lands, if he could afford them.

Ancient Indians cared for the spiritual advancement of the people but they were not averse to worldly enjoyments. They wanted to maintain a harmonious balance between the different aspects of life. They fully realized that they could not fulfil their other worldly (*pāralaukika*) duties unless they had the minimum of the necessities of life in this world. It was this outlook on life which made them attach considerable importance to the matter of food.

In the Upaniṣads it is stated that it is food which enables a man to use all his faculties.¹ Purity of thought, according to these sages, depends on purity of food. Purity of thought leads, to good memory, and when memory does not fail all the knots which bind a man to this world are loosened.² Food is called a

¹ अथान्नस्यै द्रष्टाभवति, शोता भवति, मन्ता भवति, बोद्धाभवति, कर्तभवति, विज्ञाता भवति, अन्नमुपास्वेति ।

Chand. Up. VII. 9.1.

² आहार शुद्धी सत्त्वशुद्धिः सत्त्वशुद्धी ध्रुवास्मृतिः, स्मृतिलभ्य सर्वप्रग्नीनां विप्रमोक्षः ।
Chand. Up. VII. 26.3.

panacea because all creatures depend on it.¹ In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad we find that Svetaketu's father cut off all food to his son except water to show that all knowledge disappears when one is not permitted to take food.² These sages believed that the mental make up of a child depended considerably on the type of food which a mother took during the period of pregnancy. With that aim in view different dishes were prescribed for an expectant mother according to the type of the child the parents wished to rear.³ Similarly different food preparations were prescribed for different types of children in the Gṛhyasūtras, at the time of the first feeding of a child.⁴

The organisers of the Buddhist and the Jain churches also realised the importance of food and laid down explicit rules as to what should be eaten and what should be avoided. The Jains, for example, believed that rich food would make a man neglect his spiritual duties and, therefore, prescribed coarse food for Jain monks.⁵ The Sūtras also laid down food suitable for students, widows, hermits and people observing some vow.⁶

Even works on politics like the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and the writers of the Yaśastilaka and the Mānasollāsa discuss the question of food and drinks at length with relation to health.⁷ Princes of royal blood like Bhīma and Nala were expert cooks.

¹ अत्रादृ प्रजाः प्रजापत्ये यः काश्च धृविद् वित्ताः प्रयासेनैव जीवन्ति, भर्वैनदपि यन्त्यन्ताः अश्च हि भूतानां ज्येष्ठम्, तस्मात् सर्वायषमुच्यते।

Tait. Up. II. 2.

² Chand. Up. VI.

³ अथ य इच्छेत् पुरो मे दिवीतः जायेत् सर्वं बायुरियादिति मांसीदनं पाचयित्वा सपिष्मन्तमशीयातामीश्वरो जनयित वा ग्रीष्मेण वार्ष्येण वा।

Bṛhad. Up. VI. 4.18.

⁴ आजमध्राद्य कामः। तेत्तिरं ऋद्युवर्चसकामः। चृतीदनं लेजस्कामः। दधिमधुचृतं मिश्रमध्रं प्राशयते।

Aśv. Gr. Su. I. 14.2-3.

Cf. Par. Gr. Su. I. 19.7-11.

⁵ See Ch. III. Sec. 2.

⁶ Students—न मधु मा॒ से प्राक्नीयात् शारवणे च।

Mānav. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

Widows—अलारवणं भृड्वाता।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 55.

Hermits—Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.

Observing some vow—Kātyāyana Sr. Su. II. 1.8, Baudh Gr. Su. II.

The belief that the mental make up of the people depended considerably on the food articles which they consume is very well illustrated by a set of verses in the Bhagavadgītā. It classifies food articles into three categories. First category mentions the articles liked by people in whom the divine virtues predominate, the second mentions food liked by passionate people and the third which is liked by people of low tastes.¹ The same book lays down that a person who indulges in overeating or observes too many fasts cannot lead a life of continence. It is only proper food which leads to perfect happiness.²

The medical works clearly state that the physical and mental happiness of individuals depends on the food which they take.³ They, therefore, give a list of those articles which are conducive

¹ आयुः सत्त्वबलारोग्यमुखप्रीतिविषयनाः ।
रस्याः स्तिमधा, स्तिरा हृद्दा आहारा सात्किंप्रियाः ।८।
कट्टवन्नल लवणास्युण तीक्ष्णरूपविदाहिनः ।
आहारा चजसस्येष्टा दुःखशोकभयप्रदाः ।६।
यातयामं गतरसं पूर्ति पर्युपितं च यत् ।
उच्छिष्टमपि चामेध्यं भोजनं तामसप्रियम् ।१०।

Gītā. XVII. 8-10.

² नात्यशनतस्तु योगोस्ति न चैकान्तमनशनतः ।
न चाति स्वप्नशीलस्य जाग्रतो नैव चार्जुन ।१६।
युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु ।
युक्तस्वप्नावदोषस्य योगो भवति दुःखहार ।१७।

Gītā. VI. 16-17.

³ हिताहारोपयोग एक एव पुरुषस्याभिवृद्धिकरो भवति, प्रहिताहारोपयोगः पुनर्व्याधीनां निभित्तमिति ।

Carakā. Su. XXV. 31.

अतश्च सर्वभूतानामाहारः स्थितिकारणम् ।
न त्वाहारादृतेऽस्त्वन्यत् प्राणिनां प्राणधारणम् ।४।
न चाहारसमं किञ्चिद् भैषज्यमूषलम्बते ।
शक्यतेऽप्यन्नमाश्रेण नरः कर्तुं निरामयः ।५।
तुष्ठि पुष्टिधृतिर्बुद्धिरस्ताहः पीरुवं बलम् ।६।
सौस्वर्यमीजस्तोजश्च जीवितं प्रतिभाप्रभा ।
आहारादेवजायन्ते एवमाद्यागुणानृणाम् ।७।
तदात्मवान् हित मिति काले भुञ्जीतष्वद्वासम् ।

Kāśyapa Sam., p. 249.

प्राणिनां पुनर्भूतश्चाहारो बलवणीजसां च, सपटसु रसेष्वायतः, रसा: पुनर्द्रव्याशयिच्छः
द्रव्यरसगुण वीर्यविषाकनिभित्ते च क्षयबृद्धी दोषाणां साम्यं च ।

Suśruta. Su. 46.

to health and those which are unsuitable for different people.¹ According to these works the suitability of food stuffs depends on many factors—race, country, time of the year and the physical condition of the individual taking food. A food article may suit a person at one time and may not suit him at another time. The medical works, therefore, prescribe food suitable for different seasons, for the inhabitants of different regions and for the people of different temperaments.² Even in these works good health is considered a means of fulfilling the various aspects of life (*dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*).³ Even works like *Kāmasūtra*, *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* lay down what should be eaten and what should not be eaten.⁴ There was a firm belief that a man is what he eats and purity of thought depends on purity of food. Elaborate rules were, therefore, framed to maintain the purity of food. The above facts prove it, beyond doubt, that ancient Indians attached great importance to proper diet of the people.

In the present thesis an attempt has been made to survey the food habits of Indians, particularly those residing in the north, from the earliest times to 1200 A.D. The first chapter deals with the habits of the people inhabiting India in the Paleolithic and Neolithic times. The philological study of words expressing different articles of food in the Pre-Aryan languages and some archaeological finds are our only sources of information for this period. The excavations in the Indus valley region throw some light on the food habits of the people residing in that region.

The second chapter deals with the Vedic period. Our sources for this period are the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āranyakas and the Upaniṣads. These works are mostly religious in character but provide us with some data about the food articles used by early Aryans as most of the offerings which they made to the gods consisted of the food articles which they themselves used.

¹ Caraka. Su. V, Bhela., p. 4.

² Seasons—Caraka. Su. VI. Bhela., p. 25.

Regions—Kāśyapa. Sam. Bhojanakalpa., p. 46-52.

Bhela., p. 22. Caraka. C. 30 & 317.

³ धर्मविकासमोक्षाणामारोग्यं मूलसाधनम्।

Caraka. Su. I.

⁴ Kāmasūtra 191. d 1, Vāyu-Pu. 80-83, Matsya. Pu. XV. Agni Pu. 162-165, Kūrma Pu. II. 17-20. Manu. Sm. V and VI, Yaj. Sm. I. 171-180.

The third chapter has been divided into two sections. For the first section our chief sources are the *Gṛhya* and the *Srauta Sūtras* as also the *Aṣṭādhyāyi* of Pāṇini. They present before us the conditions as they existed in the middle country during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 325 B.C. To form an idea of the food habits of the people during the period in the eastern parts of India the *Jātakas* and the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works have been used. The Jain works in their present form were compiled rather late, perhaps in the 5th century A.D., but they give a true picture of this period as there was little change in the Jain traditions upto that time. An indistinct picture of the food habits of the South Indian people can also be formed by a few references in the early Sangam literature.

The fourth chapter also has been divided into two sections. In the first section an attempt has been made to present a picture of the people in the Maurya period. Our principal sources for this section are the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and the accounts of Megasthenes and some historians who accompanied Alexander on his Indian invasion. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* shows how the sale of meat was supervised by the government officers and the preparations and sale of intoxicating drinks became a state monopoly. There was wide difference between the food of the rich and the poor. The epics and the *Manusmṛti* also present a picture of the post Buddhist period but are of uncertain date. They are a mine of information for the social history of the period and depict the changing conditions of the time. No student of social history of ancient India can afford to ignore them. They have, therefore, been used in the second section of this chapter.

In the fifth chapter the conditions as they existed during the period C. 75 A.D. to C. 300 A.D. have been surveyed. During this period the Imperial Kuṣāṇas were the predominant power in the North West India. Our principal sources of information are the medical works of Caraka and Suśruta. These works are free from any religious or communal bias and refer to the food habits of the people in all parts of India, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. There are also some casual references in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali which throw some light on the food habits of the people.

For a study of the food habits of the people in the Gupta Age (300 A.D. to 750 A.D.) which is the period dealt with in the sixth chapter, we have a number of literary works by authors like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Daṇḍin. Special mention may be made of the *Āngavijjā* which is a mine of information for the social history of the early Gupta period. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, the *Amarakośa* and two medical works of this period, the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṅgraha* and the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*, supplement this information. Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang also throw some light on the food habits of the people. But their accounts present a picture mainly of the Buddhist section of the society, because they could not come in contact with other sections. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* of this period prescribe the articles of food which should be used and which were to be avoided. They are rather conservative in outlook but the literature of the period and paintings of Ajanta reflect a happy and prosperous state of society.

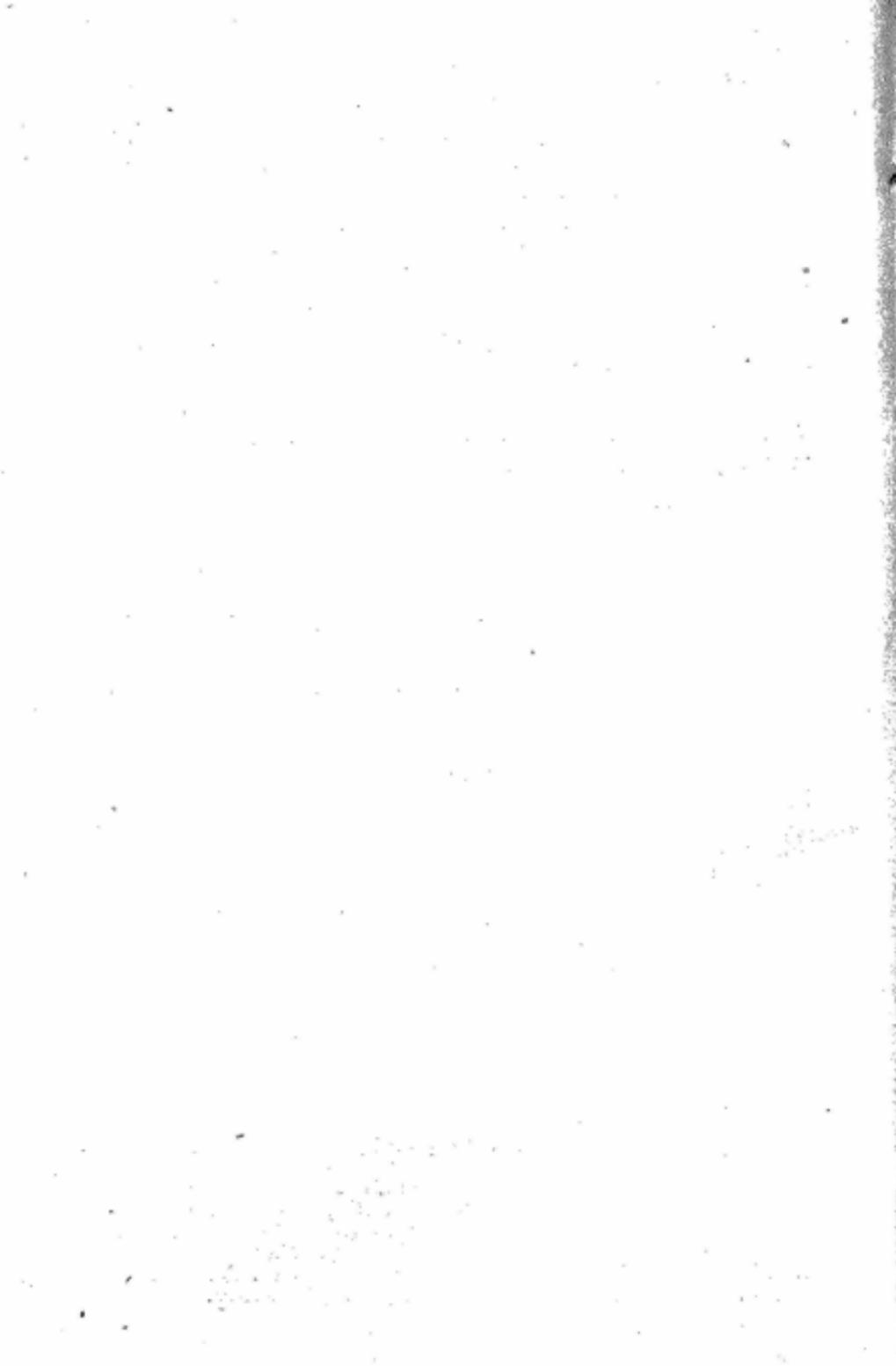
For the next chapter which deals with the conditions as they existed during the period 750—1200 we have a number of literary sources, such as the works of Rājaśekhara, Somadeva and Śrīharṣa. But the chapters on food and drinks in the *Mānasollāsa* are the basic source of information for a study of the food habits of the people during the early part of the 12th century. Some Jain works of the period give an account of feasts where only vegetarian dishes were served. The account of Alberuni has been used with caution because sometimes it was based, not on personal observation, but on a study of the religious works of the Hindus. Wherever it is in conformity with the picture presented in the contemporary literature due weight has been given to his evidence.

In dealing with the subject in each chapter a uniform scheme has been adopted. Food grains and milk products have all along occupied a prominent place in Indian dietary; hence these have been discussed at the beginning of each chapter. Next in importance come the meat preparations, which were used by a considerable section of the society along with vegetarian dishes. Then follows a short account of the spices and oils used for seasoning the various food articles. Sweets and sweetening ingredients such as honey, *gūḍa* and sugar come next with a short description of fruits and vegetables used in each period. Towards the end

of the chapter various beverages including intoxicating drinks and water are dealt with. Then follows a short account of the development of culinary art and the cooking utensils used. At the end of each chapter an attempt has been made to make a short survey of the important rules of diet, etiquette and the favourite articles of food in different parts of the country during the period. A glance at these rules proves it beyond doubt that great stress was laid on such virtues as hospitality and great care was taken that the food consumed should be pure. Students, widows, and ascetics were advised to avoid exciting food stuffs. The mass of the people lived on simple and nourishing food. The rich, however, enjoyed dainty dishes.

The concluding chapter tries to present a rapid survey of the striking features in the food habits of ancient Indians in each period. It also tries to throw some light on the important changes* brought about in the food habits and the probable causes—religious, political, geographical or economic which brought about such changes. The chief characteristic of the Indian civilization is its spirit of synthesis. It has all along adapted itself to the new forces; and the same spirit of synthesis is discernible in the food habits of the people which have altered with the changing conditions. But the process of change has all along been gradual.

*The establishment of Muslim rule probably affected the food habits of a few rich people and some new preparations were introduced into our dietary, but the masses continued to relish traditional dishes even as late as the 17th century. This is evident from such works as *Bhojana-Kutubhala* by Raghu-nâtha who flourished in that century. With the advent of the Europeans some foreign articles of food were included in our dietary. There is no mention of maize, chillies, and tobacco before the Portuguese entered India although some of these articles are used almost in every part of India now.



CHAPTER I
PRE-HISTORIC CIVILISATION OF INDIA

The earliest man every where was essentially a part of the plant and animal life that surrounded him reacting passively to the climate and geographical configuration of the land. But he slowly gained consciousness of the powers and potentialities which distinguished him from other animals and enabled him to dominate over nature rather than remain its slave.

The generally accepted theory is that the earliest inhabitants of India were Negroid in type.¹ Originally they appear to have come from Africa through Arabia and the coastlands of Iran and Baluchistan. They appear to have been food gatherers rather than food producers.² Their food consisted of fruits, nuts and tubers, obtained by the use of stone knives and diggers. Soon they added to their dietary the flesh of animals which they hunted.³ They did not know how to till the soil or raise the food. They probably were unaware of the art of cattle breeding.⁴ They probably spread over South India and even ventured to cross the sea and settled in the Andaman Islands. In India, the Negrito, would appear to have been either killed off by the later immigrants, notably the Proto-Australoids⁵ or absorbed by them.

The Negritos were displaced by the Proto-Australoids.⁶ They probably used a digging stick (*lakuta*, *laguda*, *linga*, *laūda*) for ploughing.⁷ The terrace cultivation of rice might have originated with these people. The common word for rice, *Chāval*, in Indo-Aryan languages might be very well connected with the Kol or Mundā root 'Jom' 'to eat'.⁸ The word *tandula* (husked

¹ Origin and Spread of the Tamils, p. 5. Racial Elements in the Population. Dr. B. S. Guha.

² The Vedic Age. Ch. VIII, p. 146.

³ Advanced History of India. P.T.S. Iyengar, p. 9.

⁴ Indo-Aryan and Hindi—S.K. Chatterji, p. 52. Prehistoric South India Dikshitar, p. 53.

⁵ The Vedic Age. Ch. VIII, p. 146.

⁶ They are called *Niṣāda* in the Sanskrit literature.

⁷ Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India—P. C. Bagchi.

⁸ The Vedic Age, p. 150.

rice) also seems to be of Austric origin. This leads us to the conclusion that these people probably used rice as the staple food grain.

On the basis of philological studies of Jean Przyluski, Jules Bloch and Sylvan Levi¹ we can say that pumpkin (*alabu*) and brinjal (*vatinigana*) were used as vegetables by these people. Their food also included such fruits as banana (*kadalī* and *kandali*), coconut (*Nārikela*), roseapple (*jambū*), pomégranate (*dādima*), dillenia Indica (*Kāmaranga*) and watermelon (*Kalinga*).

These people probably used turmeric (*baridrā*), ginger (*Sṛigavera*), lemonfruit (*nimbuka*) as spices and knew how to prepare mustard (*Sarṣapa*) oil and Jaggery (*guda*). They used betel leaves (*tāmbūla*) and betelnut (*gwāka*). They do not appear to have been cattle breeders.

The next people to reach India were probably the Dravidians.² On the basis of Dr. J. Burrow's studies of early Dravidian words³ it can be concluded that the food of the early Dravidians consisted of boiled rice (*kūra*), sour rice gruel (*kali*), *kuṇṭamāṣa* (a species of *Delichos*) and *varuka* (an inferior food grain). They also used fried barley (*vātya*). Of the pulses (*simbi*) they used *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Masūra*. They also prepared round cakes (*vātakas*) which they fried in oil or butter. They were also acquainted with shrivelled grain (*Pulāka*). Rice seems to be the staple food grain as several earthenware bowls containing the husk of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice have been found at Adicchanallur.⁴

They used meat (*tarasa*) as also seasoned meat (*vallīra*). Fish seems to have been another important article of food as a

¹ Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India by P. C. Bagchi.

² On the basis of similarities between the early cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and that of Adichanallur it seems not unlikely that the Dravidians reached India from this part of the world, and the people of the Neolithic stage were the descendants of the Proto-Mediterranean race. When the Aryans came to India they met the *Niyādas* (Proto-Australoids) and the *Dāsas* or *Dasyus* (Dravidians). K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—A History of South India, pp. 54-61.

S. K. Chatterji—Indo-Aryan and Hindi.

S. Piggot—Prehistoric India.

³ Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Research London, 1948, pp. 371-393.

⁴ A History of South India, p. 62 by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

number of netsinkers have been found near the Neolithic sites.¹

They consumed two intoxicating drinks *Irā* and *Māsara*. There was found at Cuddapah some Chunam like matter in a *lofā*. It points towards the existence of palm juice industry.² They knew the art of preparing *Gnūda* and toddy tapping.

Of the fruits and vegetables *Panasa* (jack fruit), *Turndi* (gourd), *paṭola* (a species of cucumber), *Mulāli* (a kind of edible root) and *Puṇḍarīka* (lotus flower) are mentioned. Spices must have been used in preparing curries as we know that they were exported to Assyria in the 14th century B.C.³ They used *Tulasi* (holy basil), *Ciñcā* (tamarind) and *pūga* (betel nut). The mention of *Tila* (sesama) and *Piryāka* in the vocabulary leads us to the conclusion that these people extracted oil and used it in cooking.

From the archaeological finds of this period⁴ we know that pottery was used for storing water and grains and cooking. Stone mortars, woodenpestles, and stone corn grinders were used. Stone slabs and rollers were probably used in grinding spices and preparing curries.

There have also been found a number of cisterns in which water (*taya*) was stored for drinking.⁵

That the Indus valley was very fertile is clear from the fact that kiln burnt bricks were used in building houses for which unlimited timber was required as fuel.⁶ In the representation art of Harappa the animals shown are such as are found in a fertile region and not in a desert.⁷ The record of chroniclers of Alexander the Great's campaigns suggests that in the 4th century B.C. Sind was still a fertile region.⁸ The very existence of large cities presupposes a considerable agricultural population.⁹ The Russian scientists headed by Vevilov have come to the conclusion

¹ Pre-Historic South India, p. 77 by V. R. R. Diksitar.

² Pre-Historic South India, p. 75, by V. R. R. Diksitar.

³ T. R. Sesha Iyengar. Dravidian India, p. 134.

⁴ P. T. S. Iyengar—Advanced History of India.

⁵ We have not included a discussion of the food habits of the Indus valley people in the food habits of the Dravidians as we are not sure about the authors of this civilization. We shall, therefore, consider in detail the foods and drinks of the Indus Valley people before discussing the food habits of Aryans.

⁶ Stuart Piggot—Prehistoric India (1949), p. 68.

⁷ Ibid., p. 134. Wheeler—The Indus Civilisation, p. 56.

⁸ Ibid., p. 135.

⁹ Ibid., p. 134.

that wheat originated from a centre near the Punjab, the fold between the Hindukush and the Himalayas.¹ It was not of a wild variety but of the same type as is cultivated now-a-days in the Punjab.² It formed the principal article of food of the people inhabiting this region.

Specimens of barley have also been found among the ruins of Mohenjodaro.³ We are not quite sure whether rice was also grown in the Indus Valley even though the people may not have been unfamiliar with it.⁴ At Harappa people also cultivated peas and sesamum.⁵ A species of brassica, modern *Rāī*, was also grown.⁶

The store houses with raised platforms and ventilated floors were probably used as granaries. The circular platforms were used as mortars in which grain was pounded with wooden pestles as in Modern Kashmir. Piggot thinks that the storage of grain at Harappa was part of a government agricultural policy. In the granaries there, flour was prepared by coolie labour which was housed in miserable rows of identically planned two roomed cottages.⁷

Domestic animals in the Harappa culture included the buffalo, goat and sheep.⁸ This means that milk must have formed an important article of food of these people.

The existence of a number of saddle querns with millers suggests that the grains were ground in these as no circular grinding stones have been founded.⁹ A number of rolling pins of pottery and stone have been found at Chanhudaro. This makes us conclude that the little water cakes (*Pbulkās* in Hindi) were

¹ R. K. Mookerji—Hindu Civilisation (Supplement).

² Marshall, Vol. I, p. 27. Wheeler, Camb. Hist. Supplement., p. 62. Piggot, p. 153. Vats—Harappa, p. 6.

³ Marshall, Vol. I, p. 27. Wheeler, Camb. Hist. Supplement., p. 62. Piggot, p. 153. Vats—Harappa, p. 6.

⁴ Childe—New Light, p. 209.

The value of rice grain in Ridgeway's book 'Origin of Currency and Weight standards' is .036 gms. On the basis of weights found in the Indus Valley region Sir John Marshall was inclined to come to the conclusion that rice was also grown. Marshall Vol. II, p. 59.

⁵ Vats.—Harappa, p. 6. Piggot, p. 153, Wheeler, p. 62.

⁶ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 153.

⁷ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 155.

⁸ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 155.

⁹ Piggot—Prehistoric India, p. 158.

made exactly in the same way as now.¹

That Indus Valley people were meat eaters is evident from the fact that meat was included in the offerings of the dead. The numerous sling balls of clay, the copper fish hooks, the arrow heads, the flying knives constitute sufficient proof of the fact that the inhabitants depended largely for their food on birds, beasts and fish.² Their food comprised beef, mutton, pork and poultry, the flesh of gharials, turtles, and tortoises, fresh local fish from the river and dried fish brought from the sea coast. The bones or shells of all these have been found often in a half burnt state in and around the houses.³

We have sufficient evidence that the Indus valley people consumed fruits. Melon seeds were found at Harappa. A few date stones were found at Mohenjodaro. Two small faience objects from Harappa appear to represent date seeds. Tree forms on the earthenware suggest the existence of cocoanut fruit, pomegranate and banana.⁴ The shape of an ear-ring suggests the existence of lemon fruit. Curries of various kinds were doubtless a favourite food as stones for grinding the necessary spices were quite common.⁵ Existence of a number of dishes also points in the same direction. They were possibly used for keeping spices.

The water supply of Mohenjodaro and Harappa was obtained from excellently constructed wells with brick lining.⁶ Innumerable fragments of mass produced clay cups have been found near the well heads. This makes us conclude that the Indus Valley people followed the modern Hindu practice of throwing away the cups once used for drinking.⁷

Domestic vessels were generally of earthenware of various kinds and shapes. Most of the pottery was wheel made, well fired and plain.⁸ But painted ware have also been found. The designs were executed in black on a dark red slip. There

¹ At Mohenjodaro a circular bread oven 3 ft. 8. ins. in diameter and 3' 6" in height was found which resembles bread ovens still widely used in Asia. Wheeler Cambridge History Supplement., p. 37.

² Vats. Harappa, p. 6.

³ Marshall, Vol. I, Ch. IV, p. 37.

⁴ Wheeler—Cambridge History Supplement., p. 62.

⁵ Mackay—Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro.

⁶ Piggot.—Prehistoric India, p. 170.

⁷ Piggot.—Prehistoric India, p. 170.

⁸ Marshall Part I, Ch. IV, p. 27.

have been found, bowls, beakers, goblets, dishes, basins, saucers stands and jars. A number of ladles of shell have also been found. Their length, including the handles varies from 2.00" to 7.2 inches. There has also been found an oval cup of shell.¹ Vessels were also made in copper, silver or lead. Copper and bronze were generally used for tools. The flake knife of chert provided with a handle was used for cutting up food.²

These are some facts which we have been able to gather as a result of the labours of the Archaeologist. But we can imagine that many kinds of food preparations and beverages might have been enjoyed by these people as the cities of this region were international trade centres at that time. At least even from the facts that we have it is certain that the basis of our modern food habits lies in those formed by Pre-Aryan races like the Dravidians, Proto-Australoids and Negroids.

¹ Vats Harappa, p. 373.

² Marshall part I, Chap. IV, p. 27.

CHAPTER II

FOOD AND DRINKS IN THE VEDIC PERIOD

Food has great importance for Vedic Indians. It is from food states the Tait. Up. that the people are born. All who live on this earth have to subsist on food. Of all created things food is the most important hence it is called *Sarvauṣadha* or panacea.¹ Elsewhere, one is advised to worship food for it enables a man to use all his faculties.² We are even told that through food comes the end of all ignorance and bondage.³ It is eaten so it is called *Anna* but it is also *Pitu* because it provides nutriment.⁴

CEREALS AND PULSES

As now, cereals formed a very important part of Indian food and among cereals the most important place was occupied by barley.⁵ In the Atharvaveda it is called one of the two immortal

¹ अनाहै प्रजा: प्रजायन्ते याः काश्च पूर्थिवी ३५ विता: अथोन्नेतैव जीवन्ति अथेनदपि यन्म्यन्ततः ग्रन्थं ३५ हि भूतानां उद्येष्टम् तस्मात्स्वर्वाच भव मूर्खयते।

Tait. Up. II. 2.

² अथान्मस्यायै द्रष्टा भवति ओता भवति, मन्ता भवति, बोद्धा भवति, कर्ता भवति विज्ञाता भवति अन्मुपासेवति।

Chand. Up. VII. 9.1.

³ आहारशुद्धौ सत्वशुद्धौ ध्रुवास्मृतिः। स्मृति लभ्ने तर्वप्राप्नीतां विप्रमोक्षः।

Chand. Up. VII. 26.2.

⁴ Rv. I. 61.7, 132.6, 187.1, VI. 20.4 etc. Ved. Ind. I. 526, Kath. Sam. XIII. 15, Vaj. Sam. II. 20, XII. 65. Tait. Sam. V. 7, 2, 4. Av. IV 6.3. Ait. Bra. I. 13. स्वादो पितो मधो पितो वर्यं त्वा बबूमहे। अस्माकमविता भव।

Rv. I. 187.2.

Sāyana on Rv. I. 187. 1. पितुम्—पालकमनम्।

Other words used in the sense of food in the Vedic literature are *idā* (Rv. III. 1.23), *anibas* (Rv. I. 153.4, Vaj. Sam. III. 20), *parinīsa* (Rv. I. 187.8) and *Ābhāra* (Chand. Up. VII. 26.2).

⁵ Rv. I. 23.15, 117.21, 135.8, II. 5.6, 14.11. III. 42.7, V. 85.3, IX. 68, 4, Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. IV. 7.4., VI. 4. 10, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Mait. Sam. III. 10.2, IV. 3.2, Av. II. 8.3. VI 30.1. VI. 50.1., 91.1., 141.2, VIII. 7.20, IX. 1.22, 6.14, XII. 1.42.

यस्वामन्त्रं ब्रीहियवी यस्या इमा: पञ्च कुष्ठवः।

भूम्यै पर्जन्यपत्न्यै नमोस्तु वर्यमेदसे।

Av. XII. 1.42.

sons of heaven i.e. barley and rice.¹ It was ground and formed into cakes² which were dipped into ghee before eating.³ Sweet cakes (*apūpa*) of barley flour were also prepared.⁴ Parched barley⁵ was eaten either whole with *Soma* juice⁶ or ground into meal which was mixed with curds, clarified butter, *Soma* juice, water⁷

¹ दिवस्तुत्रावभर्त्यौ ।

Av. VIII. 7.20.

सैनान्यं वा एतदोपधीनां पश्चवाः ।

Ait. Brā. VIII. 16.

² *Purodāsa*.

Rv. III. 28.1, 41.3, 52.2, IV. 32. 16, VI. 23. 7.

श्रीहृषयः पुरोडाशो भवति ।

Mait. Sam. III. 10.2.

पक्षः पिण्डपिण्डः पुरोडाश इत्युच्चते ।

Sāyaṇa on Ait. Bra. I. 1.2.9.

Pakṣi. Rv. IV. 24.5, 24.7, 25.6, 25.7, VI. 29.4. According to Sāyaṇa and Mahidhara *Pakṣi* means cake but as in the Rv. IV 24.5 both *pāeti* and *purodāsa* are mentioned in the same hymn it seems unlikely that the two words are synonymous. It seems likely that *pakṣi* was a liquid preparation served after *purodāsa*.

See K. R. Potdar—Sacrifice in the R̄gveda.

आदिद्व नेम इन्द्रियं यजन्त आदित्पक्षिः पुरोडाशं रिस्त्यात् ।

आदित्सोमो वि पूर्वच्यद मुखीनाजिज् जुओप वयम् यज्ञये ।

Rv. IV. 24.5.

³ पुरोडाशावाज्येनाभिषारितौ ।

Av. X. 9.25.

⁴ See Sweets, p. 19, f.n. 7.

⁵ *Dhānḍī* (parched barley) Rv. I. 16.2, III. 35.3, 43.4, 52.5, IV. 24.7, 29.4, VIII. 92.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 22, Kath. Sam. XI. 2. Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4, III. 1.10.2, Av. XVIII. 3.69., Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.2, Sat. Bra. IV. 4.3.9, XIII. 2.1.4.

⁶ कृता धाना अतवे ले हरिम्बाम् ।

Rv. III. 35.7.

धाना: करम्बः परिवापः पुरोडाशः पयस्या ।

तेन पक्काराप्यते तद् यज्ञस्य पाहवतत्वम् ।

Tait. Sam. VI. 5.11.4.

यास्ते धाना भनुकिरामि तिलमिश्राः स्वधावतीः ।

Av. XVIII. 4.43.

⁷ *Sakṣi*. (parched barley meal) Rv. X. 71.2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, Tait. Sam. VI. 4.10.6., Kath. Sam. XV. 2, Sat. Bra. I. 6.3.16, IX. 1.1.8. XII. 9.1.5.

सकुमिव तितडना पुनन्तो ।

Rv. X. 71.2.

Karambha (parched barley meal with curds, clarified butter, *Soma*-juice or water). Rv. I. 187, 10, III. 52.1., VI. 56.1. VIII. 91. 2.3.

Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, Tait. Sam. III. 1.10.2, VI. 5.11.4, Sat. Bra. II. 5.2.14. IV. 2.4.18., Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.2., Ait. Bra. VIII. 6.

or milk.¹ A gruel was also prepared with barley.² Sometimes a mess of barley was prepared by cooking it in water or milk.³

Wheat is mentioned in all the Samhitās except the Rgveda.⁴ We find it used in preparing groats⁵ but it may also have been used as a substitute for barley. Its introduction in the Aryan dietary may have been due to their contact with the Dravidians who as we have seen, had been using wheat as far back as 3000 B.C.⁶

We find no definite mention of rice in the Rgveda⁷ but it

धानावन्तं करम्भिणैषपूपवन्तमुक्तियनम् ।

Rv. III. 52.1., VIII. 91.3.

दधिमिश्रं सक्तुम् करम्भम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Rv. III. 52.1.

यवपिष्टमाज्यसंयुतम् ।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. I. 5.11.2.

करम्भः उदम्भवः ।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21.

¹ बृहनो न तिमशुद्धीज्ञत्वं देषु रोक्षत् ।

मन्यस्त इन्द्र शंहृदेयं के सुनोति भावयुविश्वं स्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ।

Rv. X. 86.15.

² *Yavāgñi*—Tait. Sam. VI. 2.5.2., Kath. Sam. XI. 2. Tait. Aran. II. 8.8., Kaus. Bra. IV. 13.

जर्तिलयवान्वा वा जट्टुपाद् गवीषुकृत्यवान्वा वा ।

Tait. Sam. V. 4.3.2.

³ Rv. VIII. 69.14. विश्वेत्ता विष्णुराभरुदुरुक्तमस्त्वेपितः ।

शतं महियान्क्षीरपाकमोदनं वराहमिन्द्र एमुषम् ।

Rv. VIII. 77.10.

⁴ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, XIX. 22.89, XXI. 29, Sat. Bra. XII. 7.1.2., 7.2.9.

ब्रीहपद्म भे यवाश्व मे प्रियज्ञवश्व मे ऽणवश्व मे श्यामाकाश्व मे नीवाराश्व मे गौधूमा-
श्व मे मसूराश्व मे यज्ञेन कल्पन्ताम् ।

Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12.

ओषधीनो नेविष्टतमा यद्गोधूमाः ।

Sat. Bra. V. 2.1.6.

⁵ Sat. Bra. XII. 9.1.5.

⁶ See Chapter I, p. 4.

⁷ We come across two expressions *Dhānyabija* (Rv. V. 53.13.7.) and *Kṣirapākam Odanam* (Rv. VIII. 77.10.) It is doubtful if they indicate the use of rice for *Dhānyabija* may merely mean grain and *Odana* though later used for boiled rice might have had only the sense of a mess in general in the Rgvedic period, as the exact grain used is not mentioned. *Dhānya* may have meant rice as the word has been used by Śabara in that sense on Jaim. IX. 1.38.39.

is referred to frequently in the post R̄gvedic literature.¹ The Yajurveda mentions five varieties of it² of which the best was *Mahāvribhi*.³ A mess (*Odana*) was prepared with rice cooked in water⁴ or milk.⁵ Rice was taken also with curds,⁶ sesamum,⁷ ghee,⁸ *Mudga* beans⁹ and meat.¹⁰ Parched rice could be taken alone¹¹ or prepared into a drink after boiling it.¹² The well known preparation *Civḍā* had come into use and was known as *Prthuka*.¹³ It was prepared as now, by moistening rice grains

¹ Tait. Sam. I. 8.10, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Av. VI. 140.2. VII. 7.20. IX., 6.14., Sat. Bra. V. 5.5.9. Brh. Up. VI. 3.22., Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

² *Kṛṣṇavribhi*. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10, III. 1. 5.9. Kath. Sam. X. 6.

³ *Suklavribhi*. Kath. Sam. XI. 5., Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Jaim. Bra. L.43, Chand. Up. V. 10.6.

Aśubdānya. Tait. Sam. I. 8.10. Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2.

पूर्वं चिन्माः सन्तः पुनः आशु प्रोहन्ति पुनराशुकाः इत्यवृं प्लाशुकाः छान्दसः।

Harisvāmi on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.2.

a swift growing variety of rice.

Hāyana. Mait. Sam. II. 6.6., Kath., Sam. XV. 5. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 3. 6. red rice growing in a year.

संवत्सरपद्धतानां रक्तशालीनाम्।

Harisvāmi on Sat. Bra. V. 3.3.6.

संवत्सरपद्धता ग्रीह्यः इति।

Pāṇini III. 1.48.

cf. Ved. Ind. II., p. 502.

⁴ Tait. Sam. I. 8.10.

साक्षात्काय वा एतदोपधीनां यन्महाग्रीह्यः।

Ait. Bra. VIII. 16.

⁵ Av. IV. 14.7., 11. 3. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 16.

⁶ *Kṛṣṇaudana*. Av. XIII. 2. 20. Sat. Bra. II. 5. 3. 4. XI. 5. 7. 5. Brh. Up. 4. 13.

⁷ *Dadhyodana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 15.

⁸ *Tilaudana*. Brh. Up. VI. 4. 17.

⁹ *Gṛytandana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.

¹⁰ *Mudgandana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8.

¹¹ *Mātāsandana*. Sankh. Ar. XII. 8., Sat. Bra. XI. 5. 7. 5.

Brh. Up. VI. 4. 18.

अथ य इच्छेत् पुत्रो मे पण्डितो विगीतः जायेत् मांसौदनं पाचयित्वा सर्पिष्मन्तमस्तीयाताम् ईश्वरो जनयित वा श्रीदेवार्थंभेषणता।

Brh. Up. VI. 4. 18.

¹² *Parīvāpa*. Tait. Sam. III. 1. 10. 1, VI. 5. 11. 4., VII. 2. 10.4.

Kash. Sam. XXXIV. 11. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21-22. Ait. Bra. II. 24. Tait Bra. I. 5. 11. 4.

¹³ *Lājāb*. Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Tait. Bra. II. 6. 4. III. 8. 14.4, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 13. 81, 21. 42, Sat. Bra. XII. 8. 2. 7.

लाजा ग्रीहिप्रभवाः पृथ्वद्विकसिताः।

Sāyaṇa on Tait. Bra. II. 6. 4.

¹⁴ Av. V. 5. 1. *Lājāmardha*.

¹⁵ Tait. Br. III. 8. 14. 3.

with water, slightly parching them and flattening them with the strokes of a pestle. We find also the mention of a preparation of rice, milk and sesamum called *Kysara*.¹ The Proto-Australoids knew the use of rice. As its use by the Aryans looks post-Rgvedic, is it not likely that its introduction in Aryan dietary, like that of wheat, may have been due to their contact with the Dravidians and the Proto-Australoids.² The excavations at Maheshwara and Nāvdātoli have shown that people in this region were using wheat, rice, *masūra*, *māsa*, *Arabar*, gram, pea and *kulattha* as early as about 1200 B.C.³ while rice was a common food-grain in the Madhyadeśa about 800 B.C., as rice husk was used in mud plaster at Hastināpur.⁴

Some inferior varieties of cereals were also used.⁵ Of the pulses the most commonly used varieties were *Māja* (Kidneybeans),⁶

¹ Av. V. 5. Śādviṁśa Bra. V. 2.

² Rice grain is called *Tanḍula* and Chaff *palāva* (Av. XII. 3. 19.)

(a) Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6., Kath. Sam. X. 1. XV. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 8.9.3. Av. X. 9. 26., XI. 1. 18. XII. 3. 18, 3. 29, 3. 30, Ait. Bra. I. 1., Sat. Bra. I. 1.4. 3., II. 5. 3. 4., V. 2. 3. 2, VI. 6. 1. 8. Tait Bra. II. 8. 14. 3. Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

See Chapter I, pp. 3, 4.

³ Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. XXI, No. 4/84. Culture of Maheshwara Navdā Toli by H. D. Sankalia, p. 332.

⁴ Ancient India Nos. X and XI (1954-55), p. 129.

⁵ *Priyanigu*. (*Panicum Italicum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. IV. 7.4. Kath. Sam. X. 11. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13.

Agnu. (*Panicum Miliaceum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12.

Syāmāka. (*Panicum frumentaceum*) Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10, II. 5. 2, IV. 7. 4. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6, II. 11. 4. Kath Sam. X. 2., XV. 5. Sat. Bra. X. 6. 3. 2. XII. 7. 1. 9. Kaus. Bra. IV. 12.

यथा इयामाकः प्रत्यन्न वपाक्षात् विचरते ।

Av. XIX. 50. 4.

एष म आत्मा अन्तहृदये अणीवान् इयामाकाद् वा ।

Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

Nīvāra. Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Kath. Sam. XII. 4. XV. 5. Mait. Sam. II. 6.6., 4. 10., Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10, IV. 7. 4. Sat. Bra. V. 1. 4. 14., 3. 3. 5, Tait. Bra. I. 3. 6. 7. *Gavīdbukha* (*Coix Lacryma*) Tait. Sam. V. 4. 3. 2. Mait. Sam. II. 6. 5, IV. 3. 8, Vaj. Sam. XV. 5, Tait. Bra. I. 7. 3. 6, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 29. II. 4. 11. 13, IX. 1. 1. 8.

Āmba or *Nāmba*. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 10. 1, Kath. Sam. XV. 5, Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 3. 8. *Upavāka* (*Wrightia antidyserterica*). It was used in preparing grists and a gruel. Mait Sam. III. 11. 2, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 90. XXI. 30. Sat. Bra. XXII. 7. 1. 3., 7. 2. 9.

⁶ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12, Tait. Sam. V. 1. 8, 1, VII. 2. 10. 2. Kath. Sam. XII. 7, XXXII. 7, Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 2. Av. XII. 2. 53. Sat. Bra. I. 1. 1. 10. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22.

Mudga (*Phaseolus Mungo*)¹ and *Masūra*² (*Lentils*). But for some reason or other the use of *Māṣa* is indicted for sacrificial purposes.³ One of the pulse preparations was *Kulmāṣa*. It was prepared by stewing beans and mixing them with a little *gada* and oil.⁴ It seems to have generally been the food of the poor; but the rich ate it in times of scarcity.⁵

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk⁶ formed one of the principal ingredients of the food of Vedic Indians. Generally boiled cows milk⁷ was taken. It

स रस मह वसन्ताय प्रायच्छद् यवं श्रीवायौषधीर्वर्णम्यो, श्रीहीन्दुरदे मापतिलौ हेमन्तशिशिराम्याम् ।

Mait. Sam. II. 6. 6.

यवं श्रीवायौषधीर्वर्णम्यो श्रीहीन्दुरदे मापतिलौ हेमन्तशिशिराम्याम् ।

Tait. Sam. VII. 2. 10. 2.

¹ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12. It was also cooked with rice (*Sāṅkh Aran.* XII.8).

² Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12., Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22. The Tait. Br. III. 8. 14. 6. mentions *Mashīya* which seems to be a misreading for *Masūra*. Some other pulses *Safīna* (a) a kind of pea, *Khalakula* (b) *Delichos biflorus*, *Garmuta* (c) (Horse-gram) and *Khalsa* (*Phaseolus radiatus*) (d) are mentioned.

(a) Mait. Sam. II. 66. (b) Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13. (c) Tait. Sam. II. 4. 4., Kath. Sam. X. 11. Mait. Sam. II. 2. 4. (d) Av. II. 31. 1., V. 23. 81. Vaj. Sam. XVII. 12. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 22.

³ न मापाणामश्नीयादवशिया वै मापाः।

Mait. Sam. I. 4. 10.

न मापाणामश्नीयादवश्या वै मापाः।

Kath. Sam. XXXII. 7.

⁴ Nirukta I. 4. Chand. Up. I. 10. 2.

⁵ सहेष्वं कुलमाधान्तादतं विभिक्ते त अ हो वाच । नेतोऽन्ये यज्ञ ये म इम उपनिहिता इति ।

Chand. Up. I. 10. 2.

Śāṅkara on the above—

कुलमाधान् कृतिसतात् मापान्

⁶ Kūra. Rv. I. 164. 7. VIII. 2. 9., IX. 67. 32., X. 87. 16.

Pṛgar. Rv. I. 153. 4. I. 121. 5., VI. 52. 10.

Go. Rv. I. 33. 10., 151. 8., 181. 8. IV. 27. 5., IX. 46. 4., 71. 5.

इह ब्रौतु ईमङ्ग वेदास्य वामस्य निहितं पदं वैः।

शीणः शीरं दुहूते गावो अस्य ब्रह्म वसाना उदकं पदापुः।

Rv. I. 164. 7.

उतोनो अस्य पूर्वः पतिदर्नीतं पातं पयस उल्लियायाः।

Rv. I. 153. 4.

⁷ Rv. I. 180. 3.

अमासु चिद् दधिष्वे पववमन्तः पयः कुण्डासु रुषब्रोहिणीषु ।

Rv. I. 62. 9.

अथ वाम् अर्मो अश्विना स्तोमेन परिविच्छते ।

Rv. VIII. 9. 4.

was used in preparing a mess with grains¹ and a gruel with parched barley meal.² It was also mixed with *Soma* juice.³ Milk of buffaloes might also have been used in the Rgvedic period.⁴ The popularity of milk in the later Vedic age is testified by the fact that the cow is called a blessing (*vara*).⁵ Fresh milk,⁶ boiled milk⁷ and cream of boiled milk⁸ were in common use. Goat's milk was also used.⁹ Beastings were not used for ten days.¹⁰ There were some people who lived on milk alone (*Payovrata*).¹¹

Milk was curdled by mixing with it a little sour milk, pieces of a creeper called *Pātikā*, bark of *Palāfa* tree or *Kuvala* (Jujube).

¹ *Kṣīrandana*. See p. 10, f. n. 5.

² *Mantha*. See p. 9, f. n. 1.

³ *Gavāśira*. Rv. II. 41. 5.

Abbisri. Rv. IX. 86. 27.

⁴ The word *Mabīfa* (a buffalo) is frequently mentioned. Rv. V. 29. 7., VIII. 12. 8, 77. 10.

सत्ता सूखे अपचत्तूयमनिरस्य कल्या महिला भी शतानि।

Rv. V. 29. 7.

⁵ वरो दक्षिणा।

Tait. Bra. III. 12. 5. 7.

Sāyāga on the above—वर शब्देन गौरभिधीयते।

तदाहुयाँ वै त्रिरेकस्याहु उपसीदन्ति दहुं वै साप्तराम्यां दोहाम्यां दुहे।

Tait. Sam. VII. 5. 31.

Cows were milked three times a day—in the morning, in the forenoon and in the evening. (See above).

⁶ *Pratidhuk*. Tait. Sam. II. 5. 5. 5., Kath. Sam. XVII. 6, Av. IX. 4. 4. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2. Pāmc. Bra. IX. 5. 5., XVIII. 4. 2. Tait. Bra. II. 7. 2.

गौर्वं प्रतिष्ठुक्। तस्यै शूतं तस्यै शरस्तस्यै दधि तस्यै मस्तु तस्याऽपातञ्जनं तस्यै नवनीतं तस्यै घृतं तस्या आमिका तस्यै वाजिनम्।

Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁷ *Sṛta*. Sat. Bra. III. 2. 2. 10, VI. 5. 3. 2.

Sāyāga on ⁷ Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

शूतं वै देवाना अः हृषि नर्षूतम्।

Sat. Bra. III. 2. 2. 10.

शूतम् पक्वं पयः।

Sāyāga on Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁸ *Sara*. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

शरः पक्वसीरस्योपरि सारभूतम्।

Sāyāga on Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

⁹ Tait. Sam. IV. 1. 6. 1., V. 1. 7. 4, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 13.

¹⁰ तस्माद् वस्तं जातं दशारात्रीन् दुहृति।

Tait. Bra. II. 1. 1.

¹¹ Sat. Bra. IX. 5. 1. 1.

Kauś. Bra. VIII. 9.

The curds prepared by mixing *Kuvala* were not regarded as pure.¹ Curds were widely used.² Sometimes they were mixed with Soma Juice and barley meal.³ The process of churning with a churning stick was known.⁴ The mixture of curds and minute globules of butter when the latter have not been removed, was called *Pr̄ṣadājya*.⁵ We find the mention of *dadhansat* which was probably cheese with two varieties, one with pores and the other without pores.⁶ A preparation of curds with boiled milk was very popular. The solid part of the preparation was called *āmikṣā*⁷ while the liquid part was called *Vajina*.⁸

¹ *Ātañcana*. (a little sour milk).

यत्पूरीकैर्वा पर्णवल्केबस्तिष्ठात् सौम्यं तद्दत् कवले राक्षसं आतनचित्त।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 5.

² Av. III. 12. 7. IV. 34. 6, Tait. Sam. II. 5. 3. 4, Kath. Sam. XXXIV. 3. *Panc. Bra.* XVIII. 5. 12, Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 2. 12. Jaim. Bra. II. 348.

³ Rv. I. 127. 2, V. 51. 7, VII. 32. 4.

मुत पावने मुता इमे शुचयो यन्ति वीतये सोमासो दध्याशिरः Rv. I. 5. 5. *Karambha* (barley meal with curds) See Chapter II, p. 8.

⁴ एत्र मन्थां विवरन्ते रसमीन् यमितवा इव।

Rv. I. 28. 4.

Cf. Bhagad. Up. VI. 3. 13.

⁵ Particles of butter produced by churning were called *Pbhāgta*. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 3. 8. Whey was called *Mastu*. Sat. Bra. III. 3. 3. 2.

तद्माद् यज्ञात् सर्वहृतः संभूतं पूषदाज्यम्। पशून् ताँश्चके वायव्यानरप्यान् चाम्याश्च ये।

Rv. X. 90. 8.

पूषद्भिर्दधिविन्दुभिर्भिर्भाज्यम् पूषदाज्यम्।

Sāyana on Tait. Sam. III. 2. 6. 2.

⁶ Ved. Ind. I, p. 209.

According to Sāyana '*dadhansat*' simply denotes abundance of curds. दधन्वत् इति दधनोऽधिकतर्वं चोतनार्थः।

Sāyana on Rv. VI. 48. 18.

अच्छिद्रस्य दधन्वतः सुपूर्णस्य दधन्वतः।

Rv. VI. 48. 18.

⁷ *Āmikṣā* or *Payasyā*.

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 5. 4, III. 3. 9. 2, VI. 2. 5. 3.

Mait. Sam. II. 1. 9. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23.

Av. X. 9. 13. Sat. Bra. I. 8. 1. 7, 8. 1. 9., III. 3. 3. 2.

Tait. Ar. II. 88. Jaim. Up. II. 438, Ch. Up. VIII. 8. 3.

पयस्यवा यजेत्।

Kaus. Bra. XIX. 7.

पयस्या आमिक्षा।

Sāyana on Tait. Bra. V. 11.

⁸ Tait. Sam. I. 6. 3. 10, Vaj. Sam. XIX. 21, 23, Sat. Bra. II. 4. 4. 21, III. 3. 3. 2, IX. 5. 5. 7.

उणे दुखे दधिं क्षिप्ते घन भाग आमिक्षा। शिष्टं वाजिनम्।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22.

Butter was heated before use with a view to clarifying it.¹ It was mixed with Soma juice² and used in frying *apūpas*³ and for dipping cakes in.⁴ It was also used in making offerings to gods and manes. While solidified clarified butter was used by grown-up men, fresh butter was used by children.⁵

MEAT DIET

Meat eating is mentioned as early as the Rgvedic period. Fire is called the eater of ox and barren cows.⁶ The ritual offerings of flesh implied that the priests would eat it. A goat is also offered to fire to be carried to forefathers.⁷ A barren cow was also killed at the time of marriage⁸ obviously for food. Fish is mentioned in the Rgveda but it is difficult on the basis of this reference to conclude that the Rgvedic Indians consumed fish.⁹

¹ Rv. I. 134. 6, II. 10. 4, IV. 10. 6, 18. 8, V. 12. 1.

शुचि॒ पृतम्॑ न तप्तमञ्जयायाः॑ ।

Rv. IV. 1. 6.

² मात्रे नु ते सुमिते इन्द्रं पूर्वी॒ योर्मज्ञना॑ पृथिवी॒ काष्ठेन॑ ।

वराय॑ ते पृतवन्तः॑ सुतासः॑ स्वाध्यन्॑ भवन्तु॑ पीतये॑ मधूनि॑ ।

Rv. X. 29. 6.

³ Rv. X. 45. 9. See p. 19, f. n. 10 and 11.

⁴ पुरोडाशावाज्येनाभिधारितौ॑ ।

Av. X. 9. 25.

⁵ *Ājīva*. (melted butter)—विलीनम्॑ सप्तिः॑ । Sāyana on Ait. Bra. I. 3.

आज्ञ्यं॑ यै॒ देवानां॑ सुरभि॑ पृतं॑ मनुष्याणामायुतं॑ पितॄणां॑ नवनीतं॑ गर्भाणां॑ दद्यन्नवनीते॑ नाम्यञ्जन्ति॑ ।

Ait. Bra. I. 3.

Ghrta. (Solidified clarified butter). वनीभृतम्॑ सप्तिः॑ । Sāyana, on Ibid.

Āyuta. (Slightly melted butter). ईषद्विलीन॑ सप्तिः॑ । Sāyana, on Ibid.

Navanita. (Fresh butter) Tait. Sam. II. 3. 10. 1, VI. 1. 1. 5. Kath. Sam. XI. 7. Mait. Sam. II. 3. 4. Sat. Bra. III. 1. 3. 7, 1. 3. 8. Sat. Bra. V. 3. 7. 6. Jaim. Up. Bra. The phrase नवनीतं॑ गर्भाणाम्॑ may probably imply that fresh butter eaten by a pregnant woman pleases the embryo in the womb as the word 'garbha' also means embryo.

⁶ उक्षान्नाय॑ बक्षान्नाय॑ सोमपृष्ठाय॑ वेषसेस्तोर्मैविधेमान्ये॑ ।

Rv. VIII. 43. 11.

⁷ अजो॑ भागस्तपसा॑ तं॑ तपस्व॑ तं॑ ते॑ शोचित्पत्तु॑ तं॑ ते॑ प्रचिः॑ ।

यास्ते॑ शिवास्तपो॑ जातवेदस्ताभिवैहूनम्॑ सुहृतामुलोकम्॑ ।

Rv. X. 16. 4.

⁸ अपासु॑ हृन्यन्ते॑ गावो॑ ।

Rv. X. 85. 13.

⁹ अस्तापिनद्व॑ मधु॑ पर्यपश्यन्॑ मस्यं॑ न दीन॑ उदनि॑ किपन्तम्॑ ।

Rv. X. 68. 8.

A slaughter house is also mentioned.¹ The flesh of horses, rams, barren cows, sheep, and buffaloes was cooked.² Probably flesh of birds was also eaten.³

In the later Vedic period it was customary to kill a big ox or a big goat to feed a distinguished guest.⁴ Sometimes a cow that miscarried or a sterile cow was also killed.⁵ *Atitbigva* also implies that cows were slain for guests.⁶ Many animals—cows, sheep, goats, and horses continued to be killed at sacrifices and the flesh of these sacrificed animals was eaten by the participants.⁷ Many words in the sense of fishermen are used in the Yajurveda which makes us infer that the Aryans had included fish in their diet by that time.⁸

¹ *Satana*. (a slaughter house).

कर्तृस्तिवत्सा त इन्द्र चेत्यासदवस्य यद्भिर् नदोरश एषत् ।

मित्रशुद्धो यच्छसने न गावः पूर्णिष्ठा आपृगमया शशन्ते ।

Rv. X. 89. 14.

² Rv. V. 29. 7, 29. 8, VI. 17. 11, 17. 13, VIII. 12. 8.

यस्मिन्नश्वास कृषभास उष्णणो वशा मेषा अवसूष्टास आहुताः ।

Rv. X. 91. 14.

पच्छठतं महिषां इन्द्र तुम्यम् ।

Rv. VI. 17. 11.

³ शवधीव कृत्स्नविज आमि नाना ।

Rv. I. 92. 10.

⁴ Av. III. 21. 6, Tait. Sam. I. 3. 14. 7.

महोर्ण वा महार्ण वा पञ्चेत् ।

Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 2.

मनुष्यराज आगतेऽन्यस्मिन्वाहन्त्युक्षाणं वा वेहतं वा शशन्ते ।

Ait. Bra. III. 4. 15.

⁵ जायमानाभिजायते देवान्तः आहुणान् वशा ।

तस्माद् ब्रह्मण्यो देवैषा तदाहुः स्वस्य गोपनम् ।

Av. XII. 4. 10.

⁶ Ved. Ind. I. p. 15., Ait. Bra. I. 15.

⁷ Mait. Sam. III. 14, Vaj. Sam. XIII. 47-51. Tait. Sam. IV. 2. 10. 1-4. Panc. Bra. XXI. 14. 5, Ait. Bra. VI. 8. Sat. Bra. IX. 7. 1. 3., Tait. Sam. I. 3. 8., Gopatha. Bra. III. 13. 18.

अथाहः सप्तवर्णीयस्य पशोविभागं व्याख्यास्यामः उद्बृत्यावदानानि हनु सजिह्वे प्रस्तोतुः
..... दक्षिणो पादौ गृहपते ब्रह्मप्रदस्य सव्यो पादौ गृहपत्याः ब्रह्मप्रदायाः सहैवनयोरोऽस्ति
स्ति गृहपतिरेवानुशिलिं ।

Gopatha Bra. III. 18.

⁸ *Sauṅkala*. Vaj. Sam. XIII. 16, Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.

Pāśin. Av. XVIII. 1.

Baindra. Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.

Kaiyarta. Tait. Bra. III. 4. 12. 1.

Of the meat preparations the most common in the R̄gvedic period were flesh roasted on spits,¹ and boiled in pots. The latter was eaten with great relish.² Meat cooked with rice was much valued as food in the Upaniṣadic period.³

Some notion of pure and impure meat was present even in the days of the R̄gveda. A man cooked the entrails of a dog in extreme destitution.⁴ The cow, on account of its usefulness and the many blessings it provided was considered *agbnyā* (not to be killed).⁵ Sterile cows could perhaps, be killed a little more freely.⁶

Vegetarianism was perhaps also not unknown to the R̄gvedic Aryans. A devout offering of praise or of fuel stick or cooked food was considered as good as a more solemn sacrifice.⁷ Then there is a whole hymn addressed to *Pitu* (nutriment) which mentions all the articles of food except meat.⁸ In the later Vedic

Puñjīśtha. Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 27., Tait. Sam. IV. 5. 42. Mait. Sam II. 9. 5., Kath. Sam. XVII. 13.

सरोम्यो धैवरमुपस्थावराम्यो दावं वैशन्ताम्यो वैन्दं नद्वताम्यः शीष्कलं पाराय मागर्मवाराय कैवर्तं तीर्णम्यः किरातऽसानुम्यो जन्मकं पर्वतेभ्यः किम्पूरुषम् ।

Vaj. Sam. XXX. 16.

¹ RV. I. 162. 11, AV. IX. 6. 17.

यते गात्रादभिनता पच्यमानादभिशूलं निहतस्यावधावति ।

RV. I. 162. 11.

² यस्तीश्वरं मास्यनन्या उखाया या पात्राणि युण आसेचनानि ।

अथव्यापिधाना वर्णामङ्काः सूताः परिमूर्धन्त्वश्वम् ।

RV. I. 162. 13.

मांस चिक्षा मुपासत ।

RV. I. 162. 12.

³ *Mātāsandana.* Br̄had. Up. VI. 4. 18.

See p. 10, f. n. 10.

⁴ अवर्त्ती लुन आन्त्राणि पेते ।

RV. IV. 18. 13.

⁵ RV. I. 164. 40, IV. 1. 6, V. 83. 8, VIII. 69. 2., X. 87. 16.

दुहामदिविभ्यां पयो अज्ञयेयं सा वर्षतां महते सौभग्याय ।

RV. I. 164. 27.

⁶ AV. XII. 4. 10.

⁷ यः सामिधा य आहुती यो वेदेन ददाश मर्तो अग्नये यो नमसा स्वत्वः ।

RV. VIII. 19. 5.

⁸ यदयामोषधीनां पर्णसामारिशामहे । बातापे पीव इद्धृत ।

यस्ते सोम गवाशिरो यवाशिरो भजामहे । बातापे पीव इद्धृत ।

करम्भ ओषधे भव पीबो वृक्क उदारसिः । बातापे पीव इद्धृत । १०

RV. I. 187. 8-10.

period a feeling of revulsion against meat eating, especially beef, is found in almost all our works.¹ The Atharvaveda regards beef eating as an offence against forefathers (Pitrs)². Brhaspati, it is said, takes away the progeny of those who consume a cow.³ There was also an injunction against the slaughter of horses in a sacrifice.⁴ People who observed a vow, generally, abstained from meat diet⁵ and Brähmanas took only sanctified meat and that too of pure animals.⁶

SWEETS

Honey was, possibly, the earliest sweet thing Indians knew.⁷ It was taken out from two kinds of bees, one big *Ārāgara* and the other small *Sāragha*.⁸ The latter kind was considered better than the former.⁹ It was used to sweeten food articles such as

¹ We find some exceptions even in this period for instance Yājñavalkya relished beef diet.

तदुहोवाच याज्ञवल्क्योऽशाम्येवाह माडैसलं चेऽभवतीति ।

Sat. Bra. III. 1. 2. 21.

² कूरमस्या आशसर्गं तृष्णं पिशितमस्यते ।

क्षीरं यदस्याः पाप्यते तद् वै पितॄशु किल्विषम् ।

Av. V. 19. 5.

³ यो वेहतं मन्यमानोऽमाच पचते वशाम्

अप्यस्य पुत्रान् पौत्रांश्च याचयते बृहस्पतिः ।

Av. XII. 4. 38.

⁴ इमं मा हि अं सीरेकशाफं पशुं कनिकरं वाजिनं वाजिनेषु

Vaj. Sam. XIII. 48.

⁵ Av. VI. 70. 1. Sat. Bra. XIV. 1. 1. 29.

⁶ तदमिन्होत्रोच्छिष्टमध्य यस्यात्यां यथा परीण हो निर्वपेदेवं त त्समातदद्यएव कश्च
पिवेत्त द्वैना ब्राह्मणः पिवेत् ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 1. 39.

तज्जेते पञ्च यथावोऽभवत्स्त एतज्जल्कांत मेघाः अमेघा अवज्जियास्तेषां ब्राह्मणो ना-
इनीयात् ।

Sat. Bra. XII. 1. 2. 39.

cf. Ait. Bra. VI. 8.

⁷ Rv. IV. 43. 5, 45. 3, X. 24. 6, Vaj. Sam. VI. 2, XXXVII. 10.

Av. VI. 69. 1., IX. 1. 22, Tait. Bra. III. 1. 2. 4, 1. 2. 13.

मध्वः पिवतं मधुपेभिराशभिरुत प्रियं मधुने युज्जायां रथम् ।

आवर्तनि मधुना जिन्वयस्यथो दृति वहये मधुमन्तमदिवना ।

Rv. IV. 45. 3.

⁸ भारङ्गरेव मध्वरयेष्य सारथेव गवि नीर्वीनवार ।

कीनारेव स्वेदमसिष्यिदाना क्षामे बोर्जा सूयवसात सेषे ।

Rv. X. 106. 10.

⁹ यशो ह वै मधु सारथम् ।

Sat. Bra. III. 11. 5. 13.

apūpas.¹ Its use is tabooed for women² and students.³

Sugarcane (*Ikuṣu*) is not expressly mentioned in the Rgveda⁴ but is found in all the other Samhitās.⁵ Chewing of sugarcane is referred to in the Atharvaveda.⁶

Apūpa was a round cake of barley meal⁷ or rice flour⁸ baked in clarified butter⁹ on slow fire.¹⁰ Honey was added to sweeten it.¹¹ It is, probably, the earliest sweet preparation known to us.

SALTS AND SPICES

Salt is not mentioned in the Rgveda although the Salt range exists in the *Sapta Sindhu*, the region occupied by the Rgvedic Indians. In the rest of the Vedic Literature salt is frequently

¹ अपूपवान् मषुमांश्चरुरेह सीदतु ।

Av. XVIII. 4. 22.

² तस्मादुत स्त्रियो मषु नाशनन्ति पुत्राणामिवं ब्रतम् चराम इति वदन्तीः ।

Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 55. 2.

³ न ब्रह्मचारी सन्मध्वद्भीयात् ।

Sat. Bra. XI. 5. 4. 18.

⁴ However, according to B. Majumdar *Kufara*. (Rv. I. 191. 3.) refers to sugarcane. The word is still used for sugarcane in Bengal.

शरासः कुशरासो दर्भसः संपर्य उत । मौज्जा शबूष्टा वैरिणः सर्वे साकं न्यलिप्ततः ।

Rv. I. 191. 3.

⁵ Av. I. 34. 5., XII. 2. 54, 100, 277. Mait. Sam. III. 7. 9., IV. 2. 9., Vaj. Sam. XXV. 1., Tait. Sam. III. 8.

⁶ परित्वा परिल्लुने क्षुणागाम चिद्धिष्ये ।

यथा मां कामिन्यसो यथा मन्नापगा असः ।

Av. I. 34. 5.

⁷ यवभवमपूर्वं कृत्वा यत्राहृवनीयमाधास्यन्भवति तत्प्रिदधाति ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 13.

⁸ श्रीहिमयमपूर्वं कृत्वा यत्र गार्हपत्य माधास्यन्भवति तत्प्रिदधाति ।

Sat. Bra. II. 2. 3. 12.

⁹ and ¹⁰ यस्ते अद्य कृत्वद् भद्रशोचेऽपूर्वं वैव घृतवन्तमग्ने ।

घृतवन्तम्—in clarified butter.

भद्रशोचे—on slow fire.

Rv. X. 45. 9.

Rv. III. 51. 1.

Sat. Bra. IV. 2. 5. 19.

Also please see Appendix I.

¹¹ See f. n. (1) above.

mentioned.¹ Some spices such as brassica (*baja*),² *Jambila* (*citrus aurantium*)³, turmeric⁴, and long pepper⁵ were also probably used in the preparation of food articles.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Sesame was used as a food article.⁶ The two common preparations were a gruel⁷ and a porridge.⁸ A wild variety of *Sesamum* (*Jartila*) was also used in preparing a porridge.⁹ Sesamum oil is not mentioned in the *Rgveda* but is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.¹⁰ Mustard is mentioned in the *Upanisads* and *Brahmanas*.¹¹ The use of oil was perhaps commoner with the non-Aryans than the Aryans.¹²

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Flowering and fruit bearing plants are mentioned in the

¹ Av. VII. 76. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 2. 1. 16. Jaim Up. III. 17. 3, Brh. Up. 4. 12. Chand. Up. IV. 17. 7.

लवणे न सुवर्णं सन्दध्यात् ।

Gopatha Bra. I. 14.

स यथा संस्थव खिल्य उदके प्राप्त ।

Brh. Up. II. 4. 12.

² *Baja* (brassica). Av. VIII. C. 3. VIII. 6. 6.

³ *Jambila*. Mait. Sam. III. 15. 3.

Kath. Sam. V. 2. 1. Vaj. Sam. XV. 3.

⁴ *Haridrā*. (Long turmeric) Av. XII. 24. 2.

⁵ *Pippali*. (Euploides, Long Pepper) Av. VI. 109.

⁶ Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 12., Mait. Sam. IV. 3. 2., Tait. Sam. VII. 2. 10. 2., Av. IV. 7. 3, II. 8. 3, VI. 140. 2, XVIII. 3. 69, 4. 32.

Sat. Bra. IX. 1. 1. 3.

Stalks of Sesame (*Tilapiṇḍa*) were used as fuel (Av. XII. 2. 54).

⁷ Av. IV. 7. 3.

⁸ Brh. Up. VI. 4. 16.

⁹ Tait. Sam. V. 4. 3. 2.

उभयम्बेतदन्ने यजतिला यच्च ग्राम्यं यज्ञारण्यम्

यदहृ तिलस्तेन ग्राम्यं यदकृष्टे पञ्चन्ते तेनारण्यम् ।

Sat. Bra. IX. 1. 1. 3.

¹⁰ यः कुमारी पिङ्गलिका वसन्तं पीवरी लभेत् । तैलकुडमिमाङ्गुष्ठं रोदन्तं शुद्धमुद्दरेत् ।

Av. XX. 136. 16.

¹¹ Śad. Bra. V. 2.

एष म आत्माज्ञात्मूर्द्धं दयेऽग्नीयान् श्रीहिर्वा यवाद् वा सर्पपादार्थामाकाढा श्वामाक-
तप्त्वाद् वा लोकेभ्यः ।

Chand. Up. III. 14. 3.

¹² अम्बने तैलस्त्रव प्राप्तान् यातुषानान् विलापय ।

Av. I. 7. 2.

Rgveda.¹ It is obvious also that fruits were a valuable part of Arya dietary² but we come across specific names only in the later Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. Three varieties of jujube,³ *bilva* (aegle marmelos)⁴ and *Kharjūra* (*Phoenisilvestris*)⁵ are mentioned in the Yajurveda. Mango is for the first time mentioned in the Sat. Bra.⁶ while *Āmalaka* (myrobalan fruit) in the Jaim. Up. Bra.⁷ Jujube was also eaten by the people of Maheshwar Navdātoli about 1200 B.C.⁸

¹ Rv. VI. 49. 14. VII. 34. 23, 35. 57, X. 97. 1. Av. XIX. 3. 1.

ओषधीरिति मातरस्तद्वो देवी रूपमुखे । सनेयमश्वं गां बास आत्मानं तव पूर्णः ।

Rv. X. 97. 4.

या: कलिनीर्या अफला अपुष्या याश्च पुण्यणीः । बृहस्पतिप्रसूतास्तानो मुञ्जनवंहसः ।

Rv. X. 97. 15.

तन्मो रायः पर्वतास्तन्म आपस्तद्रातिवाच ओषधीरुत शौः ।

वनस्पतिभिः पूर्णिवी सजोका उमे रोदसी परिपासतोः नः ।

Rv. VII. 34. 23.

² Rv. X. 97. 5.

मुञ्जननु मां शपथ्यादधो वस्त्वादुत । अथो यमस्य पठवीशात् सर्वस्मादेव किल्व-
पात् ।

Rv. X. 97. 16.

न वा अरण्यानिर्हन्त्यन्यस्तेजाभिगच्छति । स्वादोः फलस्त जलवाय यथाकामं निष्पत्ते ।

Rv. X. 146. 5.

Also see X. 146. 6. III. 45. 4.

³ Jujube fruit was also used in preparing groats.

Sat. Bra. V. 5. 4. 22. XII. 9. 1. 5.

Badara. (a large sized Jujube)—Kath. Sam. XX. 20, Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 90. XXI. 30, Tait. Bra. I. 8. 5. 1. Sat. Bra. V. 4. 10. XII. 7. 1. 3. 7. 2. 9. 9. 1. 8. Jaim. Br. II. 136. 5.

Kwala. (an average sized soft Jujube) Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 22. 89, XXI. 29. Sat. Bra. V. 4. 10.

Karkandhu (a small sized jujube) Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Kath. Sam. XII. 10. Vaj. Sam. XIX. 23. XXI. 32.

⁴ Av. XX. 136. 13, Mait. Sam. III. 9. 3.

Ait. Bra. II. 1. Sat. Bra. XIII. 4. 4. 8.

⁵ Kath. Sam. XI. 10, XXXVI. 71.

यतीनाम्यथानाना अ॒ शीदिणि चराऽपत्तेऽसर्जुरा अभवन् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 4. 9. 2.

० यथाऽम्बोदुम्बरद्वायिष्पलङ्घवा वस्तनात् प्रमुच्यतैवमे वायु अ॒ शारीर आत्मैम्योऽ-
क्षेप्यः सम्प्रमुच्य पुनः प्रतिन्यावस्थितियोन्याद्रवति प्राणायैव ।

Sat. Bra. XIV. 7. 1. 41.

⁷ वै तद् यात् याम्बाऽमलकाण्डे नागातेऽति हाइङ्गांस तद् अवक्षयत् ।

Jaim. Up. Bra. I. 38. 6.

⁸ See p. 11, f. n. 3.

Also see Chand. Up. VII. 3. 1.

Of the vegetables cucumber (*Urvāruka*)¹ and lotus stalks (*bisa*)² were known to the Rgvedic Indians. The latter was probably in common use with the edible roots of lotus (*Sāluka*)³ and *alābu* (bottle gourd)⁴. *Saphaka* (*Trapabispinosa*)⁵ also seems to have been used as a food article. People of Maheshwar Navdā-toli used beans about 1200 B.C.⁶

BEVERAGES

Of the beverages of the Vedic Indian—*Soma* Juice was the most important.⁷ The plant was brought from some mountains especially Maujavanta.⁸ The process of extracting the juice is described in detail. The stalks were crushed between two stones.⁹

¹ Av. VI. 14. 2, Mait. Sam. I. 10. 4, Tait. Sam. I. 8. 62, Vaj. Sam. III 60.

उर्वारुकमित्रं बन्धनान्मृत्यो मृक्षीय मामृतात् ।

Rv. VII. 59. 12.

² इवं शुभेभिर्विसक्ता इव ।

Rv. VI. 61. 2.

Also see Av. IV. 34. 5, Ait. Bra. V. 30, Ait. Ār. III. 2. 4. Sañkh. Ar. XI. 4.

³ Av. IV. 35. 5.

⁴ Av. VIII. 10. 29 and 30.

⁵ Av. IV. 39. 5.

Some other plants are mentioned :—

Mulāli (*Trapabispinosa*)—Av. IV. 34. 5.

Anuka (*Blyseca Clandra*—an aquatic plant)

Av. IV. 37. 8, VIII. 7. 9, 37. 38. 10. Tait. Sam. IV. 6. 1. 1. V. 4. 2.

Kapitttha (*Feronia Limonia*) Av. IV. 2. 8.

Andikā (*Nymphaea alba*) Av. IV. 35. 5, IV. 17. 16.

Madugha (a sweet herb) Av. I. 34. 4. VI. 122. 3.

Aśvabaldā Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 17., III. 6. 3. 10.

Madubūka (*Bassia Latifolia*) Av. I. 34. 5.

Upāra (Sat. Bra. III. 4. 3. 13. and IV. 2. 5. 15).

Prapathra (Panc. Bra. VIII. 4. 1.) and *Ādāra* (Kath. Sam. XXIV. 3., (Sat. Bra. IV. 5. 10. 4.) were used as substitutes for Soma.

* See p. 11, f. n. 3.

⁷ नित्यस्तोत्रो बनस्पतिर्धनामन्तः सबदूषः । हिन्द्वानो मानुषा युगा ।

Rv. IX. 12. 7.

The exact identity of the Soma plant is controversial. Dr. J. M. Unwala has on the basis of Vedic and Avestan references identified it with 'Ephedra.'

See Vallabha Vidyā Nagar Research Bulletin. Vol. I. Issue 2, pp. 7-10. Also see appendix VIII B on beverages.

⁸ Rv. I. 93. 6, III. 48. 2, V. 36. 2, 43. 4, 85. 2.

परि सुवानो गिरिष्ठाः पवित्रे सोमा भक्षाः । मदेषु सर्वथा असि ।

Rv. IX. 18. 1.

⁹ Rv. 65. 25, 66. 29, 70, 7.

ग्रावा यत्र वदति काहृष्ट्यस्तस्येदिन्द्रो अभिपित्त्वा रण्यति ।

Rv. I. 83. 6.

They were sometimes pounded in a mortar with a pestle.¹ Before crushing, the plant was washed in water.² In order that it may yield copious juice, water was sprinkled on the stalks.³ It was pounded with both hands.⁴ Women sang songs when they squeezed the juice of the plant with their fingers.⁵

Soma juice was pressed in very large quantities⁶ and was poured upon a strainer for removing the impurities.⁷ It was stored in jars or wooden tubs and was either brown, ruddy or tawny.⁸ It was mixed with curds, clarified butter or milk to improve its taste.⁹ Other preparations with which it was mixed were *Karambha*, *dbānāb*, *apūpa*, *pakti*, *saktu*, water and honey.¹⁰

¹ यत्र मन्थां विचक्षणते रसमीत्यमित वा इव। उलूखल सुतानामवेदिन्द्र जलमूसः।

Rv. I. 28. 4.

अथो इन्द्राय पातवे सूत् सोमम् लूखल।

Rv. I. 28. 6.

² यदद्धिः परिपिच्छसे मूज्यमानो गमस्योः।

cf. Rv. IX. 26. 2.

Rv. IX. 65. 6.

³ Rv. IX. 74. 9., Av. IX. 6. 16.

⁴ Rv. IX. 72. 5.

⁵ समुत्ता धीमिरस्वरन् हिन्दतीः सप्त जाययः। विप्रमात्रा विश्वतः।

Rv. IX. 66. 8.

⁶ इन्द्रं सोमासः प्रदिवि सुतासः समुद्रं न लवत आविशान्ति।

Rv. III. 46. 4.

⁷ अन्तः पवित्रे आहितः।

Rv. IX. 12. 5.

⁸ *Kalasas* (Vessels) Rv. IX. 12. 5.

Droṣa (Wooden tubs) Rv. IX. 15. 7, 33. 2.

Babru (brown) Rv. IX. 33. 2, 63. 4, 63. 6,

Hari (tawny) Rv. IX. 3. 9.

Aruṇa (ruddy) Rv. IX. 40. 2, 45. 3.

⁹ *Dadhyātīra* Rv. IX. 23. 3, 101. 12.

Gṛtam Vasānāb Rv. IX. 82. 2.

Pariskṛtab gobbiḥ Rv. IX. 61. 13, 46. 4, 64. 28.

Siḍḍukarmagobbiḥ Rv. VIII. 2. 3.

¹⁰ इमं जग्मसुतं पिव भानाकृतं करम्भिगमपूपवन्तमुविषयम्।

Rv. VIII. 91. 2.

पूषव्यते ते चक्रमा करम्भं हृतिवते हृवैश्वाय धानाः।

अपूपमंडि सगणो मणद्धिः सोमं पिव वृत्रहा शूर विदान्।

Rv. III. 52. 7.

त सोम आमिश्लतमः सुतोभूद् यस्मिन् पक्षितः पञ्चते सन्तिथानाः।

Rv. VI. 29. 4.

यस्य मा परुषाः शतमुद्धृष्टयन्तपुक्तणः प्रदद्वमेधस्य दानाः सोमा इव आविशिरः।

Rv. V. 27. 5.

आविशिरः सक्तवः पयोधाना इति सोम मिश्राणि त्रीणि।

Madhava on Rv. V. 27. 5.

According to Vedic descriptions Soma juice was sweet and delicious in taste.¹ It was believed that it inspired confidence, courage, faith and self-trust and bestowed powers of eloquence and immortality.² It was called pure, purifying,³ and the most heavenly nectar.⁴ A strong mixture of Soma Juice, called *Pashadasa*, is also mentioned.⁵

Another beverage of the Vedic period was *Sura* (intoxicating liquor) which was prepared from fermented barley or wild paddy

अर्जुः सोम पूचानस्य ते रसोऽप्यो वारं विपवनान धावति ।

स मृज्यमानः कविभिर्मृदिन्तम् स्वदस्वेन्द्राय पवमान पीतये ।

पावमानीर्यो अध्येत्युपिभिः सम्भृतं रसं । Rv. IX. 74. 9.

तस्मै सरस्वती द्रुहे क्षीरं सपिर्मधूकम् ।

¹ स्वादुष्किलायं मधुमाँ उतायं तीव्रः किलायं रसबाँ उतायम् Rv. IX. 67. 32.

मधु (Sweet), स्वादु (delicious) Rv. VI. 47. 1.

² अथं मे पीत उदियति बाचमयं मनीवामुशतीमजीणः ।
अथं पलुर्वर्मिनीत धीरो न याभ्यो भुवनं कल्पनारे । Rv. VI. 47. 3.

सोमः पवते जनिता मतीनां जनिता दिवो जनिता पूषिव्याः ।
जनिताम्भेजनिता सुर्यस्य जनितेन्द्रस्य जनितोत विष्णोः । Rv. IX. 96. 5.

यो न हन्तुः पितरो हृत्सु धीतोऽभत्यो मत्याँ आविवेश ।
तस्मै सोमाय हृविष्णा विष्णेम मृडीके अस्य सुमती स्याम । Rv. VIII. 48. 12.

³ शुचि (pure) पावक (purifying)

Rv. IX. 24. 7.

⁴ दिवः पीयूषं पूर्वम् ।

Rv. IX. 110. 8.

The above qualities of Soma juice show that it was a drink very different from *Sura*. When Soma plant could not be had some other plants such as *Pashadasa* and *Arjuna* were used as its substitutes. Also see Appendix VIII B.

यदि सोमं न विन्देयः पूतीकामभिषुपुरुषं दि न पूतीकामज्जुनानि ।

⁵ पचानिते तीव्रं मुतं पञ्चदशं नियिङ्गम् । Tāndya Bra. IX. 5. 3.

Rv. X. 27. 2.

Pashadasa might have been some other beverage but is identified with Soma by *Sāyana*. It is frequently mentioned Rv. I. 122. 1, I. 155. 1, VIII. 92. 1, X. 88. 1.

प्र वः पान्तं रघुमन्यवोऽप्यो यज्ञं शद्राय भीहलुपे भरच्वम् ।

Rv. I. 122. 1.

after distillation.¹ But while the use of Soma Juice was highly commended that of *Surā* was condemned. Drinking *Surā* gave rise to broils in the assembly.² Its popularity in the later Vedic period is, however, evident from a verse in the Atharvaveda where it is mentioned as a reward for the performance of sacrifices.³ The praise of *Surā* in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the placing of *Surā* vessel in the hands of a king⁴ makes us conclude that the Kṣatriyas were generally in the habit of drinking *Surā*.

But the evil effects of drinking were known. It is regarded as one of the seven sins forbidden by the Vedas⁵ and is classed with anger, senselessness and dicing.⁶ Realising its evil effects the Brāhmaṇas avoided drinking⁷ and good kings like Aśvapati proudly declared that there was no drunkard in their kingdoms.⁸

¹ Rv. VIII. 2. 12., I. 116. 7., X. 131. 4, 131. 5.

Rv. VII. 86. 6, VIII. 21. 14., Mait. Sam. I. 2. 6. II. 4. 2., IV. 2. 1. Tait. Sam. I. 3. 3. 2. Sat. Bra. XIII. 7. 3. 8, I. 6. 3. 2, Chand. Up. V. 10. 9.

² हृत्यु पीतासो युध्यन्ते दुर्मिशासो न सुरायाम् । कथर्न नम्ना जरन्ते

Rv. VIII. 2. 12.

एतद्वै देवानां परमन्त्रं यत्सोमः एतन्मनुष्याणां यस्मुरा ।

Tait. Bra. I. 3. 3. 2-3.

³ धृतहृदा मधुकूलाः सुरोदकाः कीरेण पूर्णा उदकेन दञ्चा... उपत्वा तिष्ठन्तु पुष्करिणीः समन्ताः ।

Av. IV. 34. 6.

⁴ अथ यत्सुरा भवति क्षत्र रूपं तदथो अन्नस्य रसः क्षत्र रूपमे वास्तिस्तदधात्ययो अन्नस्य रसम् । अथास्मै सुराकर्त्तं हस्त आदधाति ।

Ait. Bra. XXXVII. 4.

⁵ सप्त मर्यादाः कवयस्ततमुस्तासामेकाभिदम्बहुरोगात् ।

आयोहै स्तन्म उपमस्य नीले पश्चा विसर्जे घरजेषु तस्यौ ।

Rv. X. 5. 6.

स्तेवं गुरुत्पारोहणं ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं

दुष्कृतकर्मणः पुनः पुनः सेवा धातकेऽनृतोद्यम् ।

Nirukta VI. 27.

⁶ न स्वोवक्षो वरणं ध्रुतिः सा सुरा मन्युर्विभीदको अचितिः ।

Rv. VII. 86. 6.

⁷ तस्माज्यायाऽन्वेत्त कनीयोऽन्वेत्त स्तुया इवसुरेन्द्रं सुरापीत्वा सालपत आस्ते । पाप्या वैमस्यं तस्माद् ब्राह्मणः सुरां न पिवति ।

Kath. Sam. XIII. 2.

⁸ उवाच न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मशपो.....भगवन्त इति ।

Chand. Up. V. 11. 5.

Another common intoxicating drink was *parisruta*.¹ It was prepared either from flowers or by fermenting certain grasses,² while *Kildā* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.³ The preparations of another drink called *Mäsara* is described in the Yajurveda.⁴ It was prepared with a mixture of mess of rice and some spices which was allowed to ferment for three days.⁵ This beverage was purified with the help of a filter.⁶

Water is described as nectar (*amṛta*) and a remedy (*bheṣaja*).⁷ Main sources of water were rivers, wells, springs. Rain water was also used for drinking.⁸

¹ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 15, XX. 59, XXI. 29, Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. Av. III. 12. 7, XX. 127. 9. Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14.

त वा एष परिस्रुतो यजस्त्यायतेऽनादा वै ब्राह्मणेन परिस्रुत् सङ्गतं दनादाज्ञायतेस्मा।

Sat. Bra. XII. 9. 1. 1.

² पुष्टोम्योनि: सूतं सारम्।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. II. 34.

कुलाधन् कृष्णन् कौरव्यः पतिर्वदति जायया।

कतरत् त आहराजि दधि मन्थां परिस्रुतम्।

Av. XX. 127. 8-9.

मुरासाधनाय पर्याप्तं परिपाकैः शर्वैनिष्ठान्नो रसः परिस्रुदित्युच्चये।

Hariśvīmī on Sat. Bra. V. 1. 2. 14.

³ Av. IV. 11. 10. 26. 6. 27. 5. VI. 69. 1. X. 6. 25. XII. 1. 59. Tait. Bra. II. 6, 12, 13, Mait. Sam. II. 7. 12, III. 11. 3. 4.

⁴ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14, 82; Mait. Sam. III. 11. 2. 9.

Tait. Bra. 6. 11. 3. 6. 11. 4.

⁵ त्रीहि स्यामाकौदनाचामयोः शश्य तोकम लाज नगनहु चूर्णः संसर्गो मासरम्।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14.

मासरम् तक भिक्षितम् सूक्ष्म यव चूर्णम्।

Säyana on Tait. Bra. II. 6. 11. 3.

According to Säyana *Mäsara* means powdered barley meal mixed with butter milk. The interpretation of Säyana does not seem to be correct in view of the method of preparation described in the Kätyäyana Śrauta Sūtra. XIX. 1. 20-22.

⁶ See Ch. III, p. 44.

⁷ RV. X. 101. 7. Kauśītaki Bra. XII. 1. Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 3. Bṛh. Up. VII. 10. 1.

अप्वन्वन्तरमृतमप्मु भेषजम्। अपामृत प्रशस्तिभिरश्वा भवथ वाजिनो गावो भवथ वाजिनीः।

Av. I. 4. 4.

अमृताह्यापः।

Tait. Bra. I. 7. 6. 3.

⁸ शंतं आपो हैमवतीः, शमुते सन्तूतस्याः। शंते सन्निष्ठादा आपः शमुते सन्तु वर्ष्याः।

शंते आपोधनवन्याः शंते सन्त्वनूप्याः। शंते सन्निष्ठिमा आपः शं याः कुम्भेभिरामृताः।

अनभ्यः लनमाना विप्रागम्भीरे अपसः। भिषम्यो भिषक्तराः आपो अच्छा वदामसि।

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The art of cooking¹ was well developed as early as the Rgvedic period. The processes of cleaning food grains with a sieve and grinding them were known.² Preparation of such food articles as *Krsara* and *Prthuka* shows a very high stage of development. Meat was not only roasted and cooked in the form of a soup but also cooked with rice.

There were cooks and servers of food.³ Many implements and utensils were used in cooking. Some of these were made of clay, wood and stone while others were made of metals. Leather vessels were used for storing liquids.⁴

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

Vedic Indians laid great stress on the virtue of hospitality. Even their beloved god fire is called a guest (*atithi*) in the Rgveda.⁵ In another verse it is considered a sin to take food

अपामहू दिव्यानामपां स्रोतस्यानाम् । अपामहू प्रणे जनेश्वा भवत्त वाजिनः ।
ता अपः शिवा अपोऽपश्चमं करजीरपः । यथैकं तूप्यते मयस्तास्त आदत्त मेषधीः ।

Av. XIX. 2. 1-5.

Seventeen kinds of waters are mentioned in the Sat. Bra.
ता वा एताः सप्तशतापाः सम्भरति ।

Sat. Bra. V. 3. 4. 22.

¹ Cooked food is called *paksa* or *Pasata*.

Av. VI. 119. 2. XII. 3. 55. Sat. Bra. I. 5. 1. 26. 6. 1. 9., RV. I. 61. 7. X. 116. 8.

² सक्तुभिव तितउना पुनन्तो ।

RV. X. 71. 2.

उपलप्रक्षिणी नना ।

RV. IX. 112. 3.

According to the authors of the Vedic Index Vol. I., p. 94, the corn in this period was ground in mortars with pestles and 'upala' simply means a mortar. Dr. H. D. Sankalia thinks that the people of Mahesvar Navda Toli region used two pieces of stone for grinding corn such as wheat and gram and the circular stones were used by Indians about the beginning of the Christian era as a result of their contact with the Greeks and the Romans. See Journal of the Gujarat Research Society Vol. No. 4/84, p. 332.

³ *Pariveggaprab* (servers) Av. IX. 6. 5. 1.

Paktr (cooks) Av. XI. 3. 17.

Srapayit (cooks) Sat. Bra. I. 2. 2. 14.

⁴ See Appendix A (pp. 32-33).

⁵ RV. I. 51. 6, I. 112. 14. VI. 47. 22, VII. 3. 5.

अहं पुरो मन्दसानो व्यैरं नव साकं नवतीः शास्त्रस्य

गततमं वेदयं सर्वताता दिवोदासभरित्थिव्यं यदातम् ।

RV. IV. 26. 3.

without feeding a hungry person.¹ In the Atharvaveda feeding a guest, without hatred or doubt², is considered as meritorious as performing a sacrifice.³ The Brāhmaṇas consider feeding a guest as meritorious as worshipping God Himself⁴ and prescribe that a great goat or a barren cow should be killed for a distinguished guest.⁵

Next to hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food, as the Vedic Indians were of opinion that proper mental make up of a person depended on the purity of food.⁶ Practice of washing the mouth before taking meals and after meals was common.⁷ Leavings of food were not taken except in a dire calamity.⁸ Friends could, however, even partake of drinks from the same cup.⁹ The food cooked by a woman in her

¹ य आधार्य चकमानाय पितॄोऽन्नवान्तस्त् रक्षितायोपजग्मये ।

स्थिरं मनः कुण्ठते सेवते पुरोतोचित्स मदितारं न विनदते ।

Rv. X. 117. 2.

मोदमश्च विनदते प्रभ्रचेता: सत्यं ब्रह्मीमि वष इत्ता तस्य ।

नार्यमणं पुर्व्यति नो सखावं केवलाधोभवति केवलादी ।

Rv. X. 117. 6.

² स य एवं विद्वान् द्विष्टशनीयाद् द्विष्टोऽन्नमशनीयाश्च मीमांसितस्य न मीमांसमानस्य ।

Av. IX. 6. 24.

³ यत् पुरा परिवेषात् स्नादमाहरन्ति पुरोडाशावेष ती ।

यदशनं कृतं हृष्णन्ति हृषिष्कृतमेव तद्वद्यन्ति ।

Av. IX. 6. 13.

Also see Sat. Bra. VII. 3. 2. 1, Ait. Ar. I. 1. 1. Tait. Up. I. 2. 2, III. 10.

⁴ यथ यदातिथ्येन यजन्ते विष्णुमेव देवतां यजन्ते ।

Sat. Bra. XII. 1. 3. 4.

⁵ Sat. Bra. III. 4. 1. 2. See Chap. II, p. 16, f. n. 4.

⁶ आहारशुद्धौ सत्वशुद्धिः सत्वशुद्धौ ध्रुवास्मृतिः स्मृतिलम्भे सर्वप्रस्त्यीनां विप्रमोक्षः

Chand. Up. VII. 26. 2.

⁷ तद्विद्वादेऽस श्रोत्रिया भ्रशिष्यन्त आचामन्त्यशित्वा चामल्येतमेव तदनन्तं कुर्वन्तो मन्यन्ते ।

Brahad. Up. VI. 1. 14.

सहो वाच कि मे वासो भविष्यतीत्याप इति होचुस्तस्मद्वा एतदशिष्यन्तः पुरस्ताक्षो-परिष्टाक्षाद्दिः परिवधति लभ्युकोह वासो भवत्य नग्नोह भवति ।

Chand. Up. V. 2. 2.

⁸ न स्वदेतेऽप्युच्छिष्टा इति न वा अजीविष्यमिमान खादन्ति हो वाच कामो म उद-पान मिति ।

Chand. Up. I. 10. 4.

⁹ वीत्वा यं राति गन्येत तस्मा एनां प्रयच्छेत्तदि भित्रस्य रूपं भित्र एवैनां तदन्ततः तिष्ठापयति तथाप्र हि भित्रे प्रतितिष्ठति

Ait. Bra. VIII. 8.

courses was considered impure.¹ Milk of a cow was not used for ten days after she had calved.² Even the entrails of a dog, however, could be taken in a dire necessity.³

In the Brāhmaṇas we find some traces of the idea of pollution of food by contact with persons of low caste. People refuse to dine with Kavaśa because he was the son of a maid servant.⁴ A Kṣatriya loses his caste by dining with members of other castes.⁵ In the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa even a Sūdra is given a place in the Soma sacrifice⁶ but the Kāthaka Saṁhitā does not allow a Sūdra to milk a cow whose milk was to be used in a sacrifice.⁷ Dining with non-Aryans was considered a sin.⁸ Vedic Indians used to recite a prayer to food before they took their meals.⁹ They also made offerings to gods before they began eating newly ripened corn as a token of gratitude to them for enabling them to enjoy the produce of a new crop.¹⁰

Moderation in food is advised from very early times. It is said that if a person took his food only twice a day he would be so wise, and intelligent that his sayings would never fail.¹¹

¹ नास्या प्रशमथात् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 1. 5-6.

तदाहुर्यं आहितान्विदं सूतकाङ्गं प्राशनीयाल्का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 9.

² तस्माद् बत्सजातं दश रात्रीनं दुहस्ति ।

Tait. Bra. II. 1. 1, III. 1. 3.

³ See Chapt. II. (p. 17, f. n. 4), Rv. IV. 18. 13.

⁴ Kaus. Bra. XII. 3.

⁵ Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

⁶ चत्वारो वै वर्णः । ऋग्वेदो राजन्यो शूद्रो न हृतेषामेकश्चन भवति यः सोमं वमति स यद्देतेषामेकश्चित् स्यात् स्यादेव प्रायश्चित्तिः ।

Sat. Bra. V. 5. 4. 49.

⁷ दोषब्लव्यमेवेति न शूद्रो दुष्यादसतो वा ।

Kath. Sam. XXXI. 2.

⁸ Panca. Bra. XVII. 1. 9. XII. 3.

⁹ स्वादो पितो मधो पितो वर्यं त्वा ववृमहे । प्रस्माकमविताभव ।

Rv. I. 187. 2.

¹⁰ तदाहुर्यं आहितान्विदं शापयनेनानिष्ट्वा नवाङ्गं प्राशनीयात् का तत्र प्रायश्चित्तिरिति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

¹¹ न भवत्यनृतं हि कृत्वा नेत्यति तस्मादु सार्यं प्रातराश्येव स्यात् ।

Sat. Bra. II. 4. 2. 6.

तस्माद् द्वि रक्षो मनुष्येभ्य उपकृयते ।

Tait. Bra. II. 4. 2. 6.

People observed a fast whenever they performed some sacrifice.¹

We can also form some idea of the rules of etiquette. From a simile in the R̄gveda we learn that the Vedic Indians took their meals in a sitting posture.² Men avoided taking meals with their wives³ and women, generally, did not take their food in the presence of male members.⁴

Students were expected to go out to beg food for it was supposed that the practice created a sense of humility in them.⁵ We also find the beginnings of some taboos in the Samhitās. The use of exudation of trees (*niryāsa*) was forbidden on account of its red colour.⁶ *Māṣa* pulse was forbidden probably because it was considered exotic.⁷

From a passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa we learn that *Soma* juice was considered a proper drink for Brāhmaṇas, curds for Vaiśyas, water for Sūdras and a juice extracted from the roots of *Nyagrodha* and fruits of *Udumbara*, *Atvattha* and *Plakṣa* for Kṣatriyas.⁸ This shows that the four castes had their own favourite drinks.

To sum up the food habits of the Aryans seem to have been affected considerably by their contact with the non-Aryans who

¹ तदाहुवर्यदर्शपूर्णभासयोहृषवसति न ह वा अव्रतस्य देवा हविरशन्ति तस्मादुपवसत्युत
मेदेवा हविरशनीयुरिति ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 11.

Also see Sat. Bra. II. 1. 4. 1.

² नि पर्वता अचसदी न सेदुः ।

Rv. VI. 30. 3.

³ तस्माजजायाया अन्ते नाशनीयादीर्यवान् हास्माजजायते ।

Sat. Bra. X. 5. 2. 9.

⁴ तस्मादिमा मानुष्य श्वियस्तिर इवंपुंसो जिघत्सन्ति या इच्छु ता इवेति ह स्माह
याज्ञवलक्ष्यः ।

Sat. Bra. I. 9. 2. 12.

⁵ Gopatha. Bra. I. 2. 1-8.

⁶ परिवृत ऽस्य हृषयां तृतीयं ब्रह्महत्यायै प्रत्यगृह्णन्त्सु नियसिऽभवत्स्मा नियसिस्य
नाशयम् ।

Tait. Sam. II. 5. 1. 3.

⁷ See Chapter II. (p. 12, f. n. 3.)

⁸ स यदि सोमं ब्राह्मणानां स भक्तो ब्राह्मणांस्तेन भक्तेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथ यदि वधि वैश्यानानां स भक्तो वैश्यांस्तेन भक्तेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथ यद्यपः शूद्रानां स भक्तः शूद्रांस्तेन भक्तेण जिन्विष्यति ।

अथास्यैष स्वो भक्तो न्यग्रोधस्यावरोधाद्य फलानि चौदुम्बराण्याइवत्थानि प्ला-
क्षाण्यंभिष्युण्यात्तानि भक्तयेत् सोऽस्य स्वो भक्तः ।

Ait. Bra. VII. 29.

were the makers of the Indus civilization. Probably wheat and rice became a part of their dietary only after this contact, as there is no mention of these cereals in the Rgveda. Fish was also included in the articles of food by the time of the Yajurveda. The use of oil as a cooking medium seems to have been borrowed by the Aryans from the non-Aryans. *Soma* juice was widely used in the beginning but towards the end of the period, when it became difficult to obtain the plant, some substitutes were used.

APPENDIX A:

[Page 27, f. n. 4]

1. *Ullabala*—(a mortar) Rv. I. 28. 6., Av. X. 9. 26. XI. 3. 3., XII. 3. 13., Tait. Sam. V. 2. 8. 7. VII. 2. 1. 3., Sat. Bra. I. 1. 4. 6.
2. *Vanaspati*—(a pestle) Tait. Sam. VI. 2.8.4., Av. IX. 3.11. Later it was called *Masala* Av. IX. 6. 13. X. 9. 26. etc., Tait. Sam. I. 6.8.3., Sat. Bra. XII. 5.2.7., Jaim. Bra. I. 42. 44.
3. *Titan*—(a sieve)—Rv. X. 71. 2.
4. *Dhvātī*—(a blower) Rv. V. 9.5.
5. *Gharma*—(a pot for heating milk)—Rv. III. 5.3.14., V. 30.15. etc., Vaj. Sam. VIII. 61., Av. 73.6., Ait. Bra. I. 18.22.
6. *Pacana*—(a vessel for cooking food)—Rv. I. 162. 6., Sat. Bra. VI. 5.4. 3., XIV. 1.2.21. etc.
7. *Ukhā*—(a cooking pot)—It was generally made of clay. (Tait. Sam. IV. 1.54). Its hooks were called *Ānika* (Rv. I. 162.13.). Rv. I. 162. 13. etc., Tait. Sam. V. 1.63., Vaj. Sam. XI. 59., Av. XII. 3.23.
8. *Caru*—A cauldron which was heated on fire. (Rv. VII. 104.2). It had a cover (*apibdhāna* Rv. I. 162.2). Later it was made of iron or bronze (Sat. Bra. XIII. 5.4.5.), Rv. I. 7.6., VII. 104.2., Av. IV. 7.4., IX. 5.4., Kath. Sam. V. 6., Maits. Sam. I. 4.4.9., Tait. Sam. I. 6.12.1., Sat. Bra. IV. 7. 41., Ait. Bra. I. 1.
9. *Ladles*:
 - Jabu*—Rv. I. 145.3., VIII. 43. 10., X. 21.3.
 - Upasēcanī*—Rv. X. 21. 2., X. 205.10.
 - Srava*—Brh. Up. III. 9. 18., VI. 3. 13.
 - Sru*—Rv. V. 41. 12., Vaj. Sam. XVIII. 21., Av., V. 27.5., IX. 6. 17.
 - Darsi*—(wooden ladle) Rv. X. 105. 10., V. 6. 9.
10. *Pieces of stone used for pressing Soma*.
 - Grāvan*—Rv. X. 76. 94., 76. 175.
 - Adri*—Rv. X. 175. 3., IX. 11.3.
11. *A piece of stone used for pounding rice*.
 - Dṛṣṭad*—Rv. VII. 104. 22., VIII. 72.4., Av. II. 31.1., Sat. Bra. I. 1.1. 22. etc.
12. *Strainers*:
 - Pavitrā*—(a strainer made of sheep's wool)—Rv. IX. 6. 3., IX. 37. 1., IX. 109. 36., Av. IV. 124. 3., IX. 6. 16. etc.
 - Kārotara*—Rv. I. 116. 7., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 16., Sat. Bra. XXII. 9. 1. 2., Kaus. Bra. II. 7.
13. *Vessels used for storing Soma juice*:
 - Amatra*—Rv. II. 14. 1., V. 51.4., VI. 42. 2., X. 29. 7.
 - Āvatattba*—(made of wood) Rv. I. 135. 8.
 - Ābaya*—Rv. I. 34. 8., VI. 7. 2., X. 107.5. etc.

Kasa—Rv. III. 32. 15., IV. 17.6. etc.

Dru—Rv. I. 161. 1., V. 86. 3. etc.

Kalasa—Rv. I. 117. 12., IV. 27. 1. 22., XI. 59. etc.

Tait. Sam. I. 1. 8. 1., Vaj. Sam. I. 22., XI. 59. etc.

Camu—Rv. VIII. 2. 82., IX. 20.6., IX. 62. 16. etc.

Dropha—(a wooden tub) Rv. VI. 2. 8. IX. 28. 4. IX. 98. 27. etc.

14. *Drinking cups*:

Patra—Av. IV. 17. 4., VI. 142. 1., Tait. Sam. V. 1. 6. 2.

Camasa—Rv. I. 20. 6., X. 16. 8., Vaj. Sam. XXII. 13.

Av. VII. 73. 3., Sat. Bra. VII. 2. 11. 2. etc.

Graba—Rv. X. 114. 5.

Kanisa—a cup made of metal. Av. X. 10. 5., Ait. Bra. VIII. 10. etc.

15. *Kumbha*—A pitcher generally made of clay.

Rv. I. 116. 7., VII. 33. 13., Av. IX. 5. 5. etc.

16. *Udañcana*—A bucket for drawing water.

Rv. V. 44. 13., Ait. Bra. VII. 32., Sat. Bra. IV. 3. 5. 21.

17. *Dṛti*—A leather bag for holding milk.

Rv. V. 83. 9., VIII. 5. 19. Tait. Sam. I. 8. 19. 1., Vaj. Sam. XXVI. 18., Av. VII. 18. Pance. Bra. V. 10.2.

18. *Sāla*—A spit used for roasting flesh.

Rv. I. 162. 11., Sat. Bra. XI. 4. 2. 4., Chand Up. VII. 15.3. etc.

19. *Svadbiti*—A knife to dissect the sacrificial animal.

Rv. I. 162. 13., I. 18. 20.

Sānd—A knife. Rv. I. 162. 13.

20. *Aśecana*—A vessel for holding liquids.

Rv. I. 162. 13., Sat. Bra. II. 1. 9. 5.

21. *Angārasakṣayapa*—Tongs Brh. Up. III. 9. 18.

22. *Dhvātra*—A fan generally made of the skin of a deer with a handle made of bamboo or Udumbara wood. Tait. Ar. V. 9.2., Sat. Bra. IX. 3. 1. 20.

23. *Śūrpa*—A wicker work basket for winnowing.

Av. IX. 6. 16., X. 9. 26., Tait. Sam. I. 6. 8. 3. etc.

24. *Sthāli*—A cooking pot usually of clay. Av. VIII. 6. 17., Tait. Sam. VI. 5. 10. 5., Vaj. Sam. XIX. 86, Ait. Bra. I. 11. 8.

25. *Pihila*—A wooden dish. Sat. Bra. II. 5.3.6.

26. *Upamanthani*—a churning stick. Brh. Up. VI. 3. 13.

27. *Śarava*—A cup usually of clay. Tait. Bra. I. 3. 4. 5., Sat. Bra. V. 1.4.12.

28. *Nimāhya*—A water jar which was buried in the ground. Sat. Bra. III. 9. 28.

29. *Parīṣāsa*—An instrument to lift the kettle off the fire. Sat. Bra. XIV.

I. 3. 1. etc.

CHAPTER III
FOOD AND DRINKS
(800 B.C. TO 300 B.C.)

In this chapter an attempt has been made to make a survey of the food habits of Indians during the period C. 800 B.C. to C. 300 B.C. But the chapter has been divided into two sections, one describing the picture as presented by the Sūtra literature and the other by early Buddhist and Jain works. It is necessary because the authors of Sūtra literature had different ideals in respect of food and occupied a different region from that of the Buddhists or the Jains. The Sūtras represent the Brahmanical point of view. In the Buddhist and Jain works we have a tradition which is non-Brahmanical if not exactly Kṣatriya as contended by Pargiter and some other writers.

SECTION I (THE SŪTRAS)

CEREALS AND PULSES

Of the food grains barley and rice continued to be the most important. The daily offerings to the gods consisted of barley from the barley harvest till the rice harvest and of rice from the rice harvest till the barley harvest.¹ An inferior variety of barley is also mentioned in addition to common barley.²

¹ वाणिग्रहणप्रभूति त्रीहिमिर्वर्णवी हृसेनते आद्युती जहोति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6. 21.

स्वयन्त्वेवाशास्यपृष्ठं बलिधृं हरेत् यवेभ्योऽव्याक्रीहिभ्यः त्रीहिम्योऽव्यायवेभ्यः, स त्वाशस्यो नाम बलिर्वर्तते ।

Gobhila Gr. Su. I. 4. 28.

वीहिप्रभूत्यायवेभ्यो यवेभ्यो वाङ्मीहिभ्यः स्वयं हरेत् स्वयं हरेत् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5. 40.

² *Yava*—Pāṇini V. 1.7., V. 2. 3., Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16. 22. Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3, Manava Gr. Su. I. 11.2, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5. 39.

Yavāñī (inferior variety of barley) Pāṇini IV. 1. 49.

The old preparations of barley were in common use :—

Dhāmāb (Parched barley grains) Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.6., 1.7; Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 3.6, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Some new preparations are mentioned by Pāṇini. Barley gruel (*Yavāgū*) was a favourite food of the people residing in the Alwar-Bikaner region.¹ It had two varieties one of which was licked and the other was drunk.² *Yavaka* was prepared by pounding barley with pestle and mortar to remove the chaff and then boiling the pearl grain in water or milk.³ Wheat had not yet become very popular as it is not mentioned in the Sūtras.

Besides barley, rice seems to be common. A fine variety of rice, *Sāli*⁴ is distinguished from the ordinary variety *Vrībi*.⁵ These two varieties had many subkinds.⁶ Pāṇini mentions two fine varieties one of which ripened in sixty days and the other was grown on the banks of the river Devikā.⁷ Boiled rice was taken with curds, honey, meat and milk. It was also cooked with pulses.⁸ Parched rice, *Apūpa*, *Prabhuka*, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Pnro-*

Karambha (Parched barley flour with clarified butter or curds) Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3. 6., Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

Sakta (Parched barley meal) Pāṇini VI. 3. 59, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 19. Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7. 22, Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37.

¹ Pāṇini IV. 2.136, Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20.

Śalva—Alwar-Bikaner Region (Pāṇini (H), p. 121).

² *Uppikē* (Pāṇini V. 2.7.) was a *pēya* variety while *Nakbampacā* was the one which was licked, because it scorched the fingers' ends. (Pāṇini III. 2.34).

³ Pāṇini IV. 3.25.

⁴ Pāṇini V. 2.2. *Sāli* was grown in winter while *Vrībi* was grown in autumn. See Chapter V (7).

Rice was probably the staple food grain in the south as it was exported to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word for rice *Oryza* is from the Tamil word *Arisi*. T. R. Sesha Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 136

⁵ Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5. 39, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.22, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3., Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 6.21, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 11.2.

It is not white when husked according to the Bhāvaprakāśa.

⁶ *Kṛṣṇavrībi* was black rice (Katya. Sr. Su. XV. 3.14.)

Mabāvṛībi was a fine variety (Pāṇini VI. 2.38).

Hājana (red rice) (Pāṇini III. 1.48).

Yavaka—A variety of rice (Pāṇini V. 4.3.)

⁷ *Sāttika*—Pāṇini V. 1.90.

षट्काः षट्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते ।

देविकाशिंशपादित्यवाहृदीर्घसत्र थेयसामात् ।

दाविकाकूलाः शासयः ।

Pāṇini VII. 3. 1.

⁸ *Odana*—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 3, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.5, Pāṇini IV. 4.67.

Bhakta (boiled rice)—Pāṇini IV. 4. 10.

Payodana—नापिताय पयोदनं दत्त्वा ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 8.2.

dāsa were very popular.¹ Probably cakes made of powdered rice were called *Pisṭakas*.² Some inferior cereals such as wild

Rice taken with curds, honey or clarified butter

अर्थादेन दधा मधुना धृतेनाद्विरिति समुदायुत्य हिरवंैषधस्य कुमारं प्राशयति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.5.

धृतोदेन तेजस्कामः ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14. 4.

Kṣīrandana (with milk) and *Sūpāndana* (with pulses)

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.54.

Mālīsandana (rice cooked with meat) Pāṇini IV. 4.67.

¹ *Lajjāb* (fried rice grains) were used at the time of marriage in the Sūtra period.

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 11.11, Gobh. Gr. Su. VII. 3.6, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.36, I. 16.34.

अर्थाद्या अञ्जलावुपस्तीर्यं तस्यास्सोदयोः द्विलज्जानावपति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 4.25.

सकृद् गृहीतमञ्जलि लाजानां बञ्जलजलावपेत् भ्राताम् ।

Khadir Gr. Su. I. 3.19.

धानाः करम्भः परिवापः मुरोदाशः पयस्येति तेषां यथलामधीरस्ततद्विषयगुलकेयुः
अन्यान्वा पम्बान् भक्षानामूलफलेभ्यः । एतेन बर्तयेयुः पशुना च ।

Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8.

Parched rice flour (*Mantha*) was taken with curds, honey and water (Pāṇini VI. 3.60).

हर्वीव्यासादयेदोदेन कुसरं पायसं दधिमन्यान् मधुमत्यांश्च ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.3.

Apīpa—Pāṇini also mentions *Apīpas* in which wheat flour fried in clarified butter and mixed with sugar was used as stuffing (*Cārūpītāb apīpāb*). Pāṇini IV. 4.23, Kh. Gr. Su. III. 29.

ओदेन कुसरं पायसं । चतुः पारावस्य दापूपान् । उदीरतामवर उत्परास इत्यब्दाभिर्हृत्वा ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 4.4.

अपूपधानाकरम्भसक्तुवटकत्तेलपायसशाकानि शुक्तानि वर्जयेत् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29.

Pṛthuka

लाजा अपूपूपूकाश्युपहारांश्च दत्वा नमस्कृत्य ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 16.34.

काणितपूपूकतःहुलकरम्भभवजसक्तुशाकमासपिष्टक्षीरिदिकारौथधिवनस्पतिमूलकलवर्जम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19.

Kṛṣara—(Preparation of rice and sesamum)

It was given to a barber. Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.4.

तिलतण्डुलसम्पच्चः कुसरः

Commentator on Kh. Gr. Su. II. 2.27.

कुसरो नापिताय ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.7.

Puroḍāśa—Asv. Sr. Su. II. 6.8.

अतुङ्गमनपूपाकृति कूर्मस्येव प्रतिकृतिमशवशकमात्रं करोति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 25.4.

¹ Pāṇini IV. 3. 147.

rice (*Nivara*, *Priyanigu* and *Syāmāka*) were eaten by foresters.¹ Of the pulses besides *Māsa*, *Madga* and *Kulattha* (horsegram) had come into use.² Of the pulse preparations the most common was a soup (*Sūpa*). Small round cakes (*Vataka*) were also prepared.³ *Kulmāsa* continued to be eaten by poor people and ascetics.⁴

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides food grains cow's milk and its products were in common use.⁵ Cows as now, were milked in the morning and

¹ *Priyanigu*—(panic seeds) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 3.

Nivara—Pāṇini III. 3.48.

Syāmāka—Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.22, Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

² *Māsa*—Pāṇini V. 1.7, V. 2.4, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 6.6.

In a Śrāddha—

तत्र द्रव्याणि लिलमाषाद्रीहियवा आपो मूलकलानि ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.23.

In the ceremony of tonsure

उत्तरतोऽने ब्रैह्मियमाषतिलानपृथकपूर्णशरावाणि निदधाति

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

यवा आषक्षस्तष्णुलाश्यामाकामूदग मेव च चणकादिलमाषाश्च कुलत्याएच कमात्
क्षिपेत् ।

Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Madga—Pāṇini IV. 4.25, Pan. Gr. Su. I. 15.4, Baudh Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Canaka—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

Kulattha—It was avoided by a man observing a vow (Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2.)

Ādabaki—Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Su. I. 16.17.

³ *Sūpa*—Pāṇini VI. 2.128.

Vataka—(small round balls prepared with pulses).

अपूर्ण धाना करम्भ सक्तु बटक तेल पायस शाकानि शुक्ताणि वज्रेत् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 29.

⁴ *Kulmāsa*—(Ghughri in Hindi) (some inferior grain boiled with a little water, *gudā* and oil) Pāṇini V. 2. 83.

⁵ *Gavya* or *Payasya*—(Pāṇini IV. 3.160).

Payab (Milk)—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7.

Dadbi (curds)—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7., Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13.

Navanita—(Butter) Ap. Gr. Su. I. 15.9.

उत्सूतेन नवनीतेनानुत्सूतेन वा सर्पिया स्थालीपाकमन्धिषायं एकस्तद्यायां मेषणमासाद्य स्थालीपाकमासादयति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 3.7.8.

Haiyamgavīma (butter churned from the curds of previous day's milk)—Pan. V. 2.23.

Sarpi—(Clarified butter) Indians seem to be fond of preparations mixed with clarified butter.

in the evening.¹ Milk of a pregnant cow, a cow in heat, and one which suckled the calf of another cow was forbidden. Beastings were as before not taken for the first ten days.² Besides, milk-rice which continued to be popular, a favourite preparation of curds was *payasyā*. Some fragrant spices and crystal sugar were used in its³ preparation.⁴ Preparations mixed with ghee seem to have been greatly relished.⁴

MEAT DIET

The writers of the Sūtras consider it meritorious to kill an ox or a goat to feed a distinguished guest.⁵ Flesh of various

नैव्यमिकं तु शाढं स्नेहवदेव दद्यात् । १३।

सर्पिमौसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । १४।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.17.18.

स्नेहवति त्वेवावश्च पितॄणां तीव्रतरा प्रीतिर्दोषीयांसं च कालम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.24.

Gobh. Gr. Su. 1.7.20, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.7, II. 1.7, 1.18.

¹ सार्वं दोहमाहूत्य प्रातर्देहं ॥३॥ अपयित्वा ।

Kātya. Sr. Su. IV. 2.38.

² तद्वेलकं पयः । उष्ट्रीकीरमृगीक्षीरसन्धिनीकीरयमसूक्षीराणीति । घेनोश्चानिदं-
शायाः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 22-24.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 5.12. 9-12, Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 24. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 34-35.

³ *Pāyasa* (milk rice)—Kh. Gr. Su. III. 1.38, IV. 2.18, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.22.

Prasadājya means a mixture of curds and clarified butter in this period.

दधन्यत्र सर्पिरानयन्त्येतत् पितॄये पूषदाज्यम्

Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 1.13.

Payasyā—Asv. Sr. Su. VI. 8. See F.D.A.I., p. 16.

⁴ See p. 37, f. n. 5.

⁵ Pāṇini also refers to meat in IV. 4.35 and IV. 4.67. He calls a guest *goghma* i.e. a person for whom a cow was killed (III. 4.73). Roasted meat was eaten (*Sāhya* IV. 2. 17).

नामासो मधुपक्षो भवति भवति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21.28.

नत्वेवामांसोऽध्यैस्त्यात् । अशक्ती पिण्डानं संसिद्धयेत् ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2. 53-54.

अथापि ब्राह्मणाय वा राजन्याय वाभ्यागताय वा महोक्तं वा महाजं वा पचेदेवमस्याति-
प्यं कुरुवन्तीति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. IV.

Cf. Sankh. Gr. Su. II. 15.2, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 3.74, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.53.

birds is prescribed even for a child at the time of its first feeding.¹ Meat preparations were common in a *Srāddha*, but if one could not afford meat one was allowed to use vegetables.² Many animals continued to be killed at sacrifices and their meat was partaken by the sacrificers.³ The archaeological evidence also shows that humped bull, buffalo, and sheep were slaughtered for food.⁴

The notion of clean and unclean meat was well developed in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should not take meat which has been cut with a sword.⁵ Eating flesh of a dog, a man, a village cock, a boar and a carnivorous animal is consi-

¹ भारद्वाजयामाऽसेन वावप्रसारकामस्य । कपिंजलमाऽसेनाश्चकामस्य । मत्सैर्जवन-
कामस्य । कुकुपाया आगुष्ठामस्य । आट्या ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्य । सर्वे: सर्वकामस्य । अश्व-
पर्याय वा ततो ब्राह्मणभोजनमन्नपर्याय वा ततो ब्राह्मण भोजनम् ।

Paraskara Gr. Su. I. 19.7-13.

आज्ञमन्नाश्चकामः । तैतिर ब्रह्मवर्चसकामः । चृतौदृशं तेजस्कामः । द्विपदचृतू-
मिष्ठमन्नं प्राशयेत् अन्नपतेऽन्नस्य नोदेहि अन्नमीवस्य शुचिमितिः द्विपदे चतुर्ष्वे हति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 14.2-6

² सर्पिमीसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । अभावे तैलंशाकमिति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19, 18-19.

संवत्सरं गव्येन प्रीतिः । भूयांसमतो भाद्रिष्णेण ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16 26-27.

खड्गोपस्तरणेखड्ग मांसेनानन्तरं कालम् । ११ तथा शतवलेभृत्यस्य मांसेन । वाघ्री-
गसस्य च ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17 1-3.

खड्गमूगमहिषमेषवराहपूतशशरोहित शाङ्कितिरिलोपातकपिङ्गलवाधर्णिसानामक्षम्य
तिलमधुसंसृष्टम् । तथा मत्स्यस्य शतवलैः क्षीरोदनेन सूपोदनेन वा ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.53-54

नियुक्तस्तु यदा शाद्वे देवे वा मांसमुत्सृजेत् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 31.

याक्षिनि पशुरोमाणि तावप्नरकमृच्छति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.15.

वाहिरादाय गामुपाकरोति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 7.4.

श्रथ यदि गां न लभते मेषमर्जं वाऽलभते ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 7.26.

Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. III. 4, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 10.16, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.51., Hiran. Gr. Su. II. 15.1, Vaikhanasa. IV. 3, Asv. Gr. Su. IV. 9.10, Sankh. Sr. Su. IV. 17.1, V. 15.1.

⁴ Excavations at Hastinapur (1950-52) Ancient India No. 10 and 11. (1954 and 1955) by Sri B. B. Lal, pp. 115-117.

⁵ हिंसार्थनासिना मौसं छिङ्गमभोज्यम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.16.

dered a sin.¹ The meat of one hooved animals, of camels, of *gayāla*, of village pigs, locusts, of cattle, of animals having a double row of teeth or excessive hair or of those which have no hair and eating of fish was forbidden.²

But in times of distress even unclean meat was permitted if only to save life. The general feeling of the time about meat eating seems to be that it should be used in extending hospitality to guests, as offering to gods and manes but animals should not be killed otherwise.³ No doubt on these occasions the house-holders partook of the meat preparations, and of these occasions there were many.

SWEETS

Honey was extensively used in many ceremonies in the Sūtra period,⁴ and was invariably used in welcoming guests, the common preparation used for the purpose being a mixture of honey with curds or ghee (*Madbutaparka*).⁵ Its use was not

¹ प्रतिविद्वानां मौसमधारणम् । शुनो मनुष्यस्य च कुकुकुटसूकराणां ग्राम्याणां कव्यादिसाम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7. 21. 14-15.

श्वकुकुटग्राम्यसूकरककुण्डं ग्रभासपारावतमानुषकाकोलूकमासादने सप्तरात्रमुपवासः ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XXIII 25.

² एकस्तु रोद्गवयग्रामसूकरसारभगवाम् । घेन्वनदुहोर्भक्षयम् । मेष्यदमानदुहुमिति वाज-सनेयकात् । कुकुटो विकिराणाम् । पत्वः प्रतुदाम् । अन्यादः । हंसभासचकवाकसुपर्णीश्च । कुञ्चकीन्द्रियाद्धार्णासलकमणवर्जम् । पञ्चनस्तानां गोधाकच्छपश्चविच्छल्यकलङ्गशापुतिक्षववर्जम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 29-37.

इवाविच्छल्यकशशकच्छपगोथः पञ्चनस्तानां भक्षयाः । अनुष्ट्रा पश्चामन्यतो दन्ताश्व मत्स्यानां वा चेटगवय शिशुमारनकं कुलीराविकुतरूपाः । सर्पीशीष्टिश्च । गौरगवय-वारभास्त्वानुदिष्टाः । तथा घेन्वनदुहोर्भयौ वाजसनेयके विज्ञायते । खद्गे तु विवदन्त्यग्राम्य-सूकरे च । शकुनानां च विषुविक्षिकरजालपादाः । कलविञ्चुप्लवं हंसचकवाकभास-वायस पारावतकुकुटसारकुण्डकपोतकीन्द्रियकवाकरककुण्डं ग्रद्येनवकवलाकमदगु दिट्ठिभास्त्वाल-नकतंचरदाविष्टचटकरैलातहरीलक्षण्डरीट ग्राम्यकुकुटसुकसारिकाकोकिलकव्यादा ग्राम-चारिणश्चाग्रामचारिणश्चेति ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 30-37.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 5.12.5., Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 16-31.

³ मधुपके च यज्ञे च पितॄवैतकर्मणि ।

अत्रैव पश्चात् हिस्यान्नान्यथ्यवीमन्तुः ।

Vas. Dh. Su. IV. 6.

Cf. Viṣṇu Dh. Su. IV. 6, Śāṅkh. Gr. Su. II. 16. 1.

⁴ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4.6., Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1. 12., Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3.23-24, Parask. Gr. Su. II. 5.12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117.19-23.

⁵ दधनि मध्वानीय सर्पिर्वा मध्वलाभे ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 21.5.

allowed to the students even in this period.¹

Besides honey another source of sweet ingredients was sugarcane.² *Gūḍa*, inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled to thick consistency (*Phāṇita*) and probably sugar were prepared from it.³ Of new sweet preparations *Pālala* was prepared with sesamum and *gūḍa* or sugar and *Sāmyāva* with wheat flour fried in clarified butter, and mixed with milk and *gūḍa*. Sometimes cardamom, pepper and ginger were added to make it more tasteful⁴. Ears of barley or wheat were parched and beaten with a pestle and after being cleaned were mixed with *gūḍa* to make *abbūṭa*.⁵ Sweets called *Svastika*, *Modaka* and *Nandyāvartī* are also mentioned.⁶

SALTS AND SPICES

For the purposes of seasoning food in addition to salt⁷ some other spices such as long pepper, black pepper and asafoetida were used.⁸ Saline preparations were not allowed to students,

¹ न मधुमाढ़े से प्राप्तीयात् ।

Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

अनधुमांसाशी स्पात् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. II. 5.11.

Cf. Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 3.23-24, Paras. Gr. Su. II. 5. 12. Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117. 19-23.

² Sugarcane plantations (*Ikṣuvana*) are mentioned. Panini VIII. 4.5.

³ *Gūḍa*—Pan. IV. 4.103, Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11.

Phāṇita—(Inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled to thick consistency)

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17-19.

⁴ The old preparations in common use were :

Aphīpa—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Kṛṣṇa—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Pāyasa—See p. 36, f. n. 1 above

Pālala—Pan. VI. 2.135.

Sāmyāva—Cūrmā in Hindi (Pan. III. 3.25.)

⁵ *Abbyūṭa*—is mentioned in the *Apūpādīvarga* in Pāṇini.

⁶ Manav. Gr. Su. II. 6.4.

⁷ अशार लवणं भृजाना ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.

⁸ *Pippali*—(long pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.

It was exported from South India from the earliest times.

The Greek word *peperi* is taken from the Dravidian word *pippali*.

Mariča—(black pepper) Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.12.

Hīṅgu—(asafoetida) Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 32-33.

The common words for seasoning were *Uparacana* and *Vyākhyāna*.

ब्यक्षनैरुपसिद्धते ।

Pāṇ. IV. 4. 26.

शाकं ब्यक्षनमन्वाहायम् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. IV. 4.20.

widows and to a newly married couple for three nights.¹

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Sesamum was the most important oil seed² used in Śrāddha and other ceremonies.³ Its oil was regarded as a substitute for clarified butter.⁴ Āpastamba lays down that a person should avoid oil cakes when observing a vow.⁵ We find mustard mentioned; perhaps its oil may also have been used.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The Sūtras do not mention the names of many fruits but fruits formed an essential part of the diet of the Aryans.⁷ Besides the three varieties of jujube,⁸ *udumbara* fruit (Indian fig) and *Sapbaka* (*trapabispinosa*) were the common edible fruits⁹ but Pāṇini also mentions rose apple (*Jambū*)¹⁰ and mango.¹¹

¹ Students—

न मधुमसि प्राशनीयात् क्षारलवणे च ।

Manava. Gr. Su. I. 1.12.

Widows—

आश्वार लवणं भृत्याना ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 49.

Newly married couple—

त्रिरात्रं क्षारलवणेद्गृह्णमिति वर्जयानो सह शरीयातां ग्रह्यकारिणी ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 4.9.

तस्य हविर्भक्षयित्वा यथा सुखमत ऊर्ध्वं मधुमसि प्राशनीयात् क्षारलवणेच ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 2.21.

² Panini V. 1.7, V. 2.4.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 16.22, Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 9.6, I. 7.20, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.21, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3, Baudh. Gr. Sesha Su. I. 16-17, Buadh. Gr. Su. II. 1.64.

उत्तरतोऽनेद्वै हृष्टवभावातिलानां पृथक् पूर्णशारावाणि निदधाति ।

Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

तिलासाद्वे पवित्रं यदि दानाय यदि भोजनाय, यथापां संसर्जनाय ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.64.

⁴ सपिर्मीसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । अभावे हैलशाकमिति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 18-19.

⁵ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.1.

⁶ Sankh. Sr. Su. IV. 15.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.17.

⁷ अन्यान्वा पद्ध्यान् भक्षानामूलफलेभ्यः ।

Asv. Sr. Su. U. VI. 8.8.

⁸ कुबलकक्षं धूवदरचूर्णाति चावपति ।

Kātyāyana Sr. Su. XV. 10.11

⁹ *Udumbara*—Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 22.8.

Sapbaka—Ap. Sr. Su. IX. 14.14.

¹⁰ *Jambū*—(rose apple) Panini IV. 3. 165.

¹¹ *Amra*—(mango). Pan. VIII. 4.5, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.20.3.

Unripe fruits were called *Safau* (Asv. Gr. Su. I. 12. 4.)

Leafy vegetables¹ were eaten and some of them were cooked. Some roots such as radish and ginger, which aid digestion were munched after meals.² Garlic, onions and leeks were avoided by respecable people.³

INTOXICATING DRINKS

Drinking was common in the days of Pāṇini as he mentions words meaning a vintner, a distillery and liquor.⁴ The ingredients were first formed into a ferment. When the fermentation was complete the ingredients were called *Āsaya*.⁵ The sediment which was left after distillation was called *Viniya*.⁶ From the Sūtras we learn that strong liquor was served to the guests when a person entered a new house,⁷ it was served to women when a bride arrived at the bridegroom's place⁸ and it was served to the wives of forefathers in the Āvasthakya rite.⁹ Women who performed a dance at the time of marriage were also served *Surd*.¹⁰

But the evil effects of drinking were not unknown to the authors of the Dharmasūtras.¹¹ They regard drinking as a heinous crime, and forbid the use of liquors particularly for Brāhmaṇas and students.¹²

¹ *Sāka*—(uncooked leafy vegetables)—Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17-19.

Bbdī—(cooked vegetables) Pāṇini IV. 1.42.

Srāna (cooked vegetables) Pan. IV. 4. 67.

² *Upadānasa*—(Digestive roots) Pāṇini III. 4.47.

³ करव्यजपलऽदुपरारीकाः।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5. 17. 26.

⁴ *Saṃḍika*—(Vintner) Pāṇini IV. 3.76.

Āśaṭ—(distillery) Pāṇini V. 2.112.

A Sūtra refers to people who could even take the sediment of liquor.

कर्णे हृत्यपिवति।

Pāṇini. I. 4.66.

Madja—Pāṇini III. 1. 100.

Surā—Pāṇini II. 4.25.

⁵ Pāṇini III. 1.126.

⁶ Pāṇini III. 1.117.

⁷ Paras. Gr. Su. III. 4.9.

⁸ Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11.5.

⁹ स्त्रीभ्यश्च । सुरामाचामित्यधिकम्।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.6-7.

Cf. Parask. Gr. Su. III. 3.11.

¹⁰ Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.5. Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 11. 5.

¹¹ सर्वं मद्यमपेयम्।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.21.

Cf. Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.

¹² मर्यं नित्यं ज्ञाहाणः।

Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8.

Besides *Sura*¹ which was generally prepared with barley or rice flour there were some other intoxicating drinks. *Kīlāla* was a sweet drink prepared from cereals.² In the preparation of *Māsara* a mixture of a mess of rice or *Syāmaka* with some spices was allowed to ferment for three days. This mixture was purified with the help of a filter and then used as a beverage.³ A spiced liquor *Maireya* prepared with *Guḍa* or sugar had also come into use.⁴ Wine imported from Kāpiśi (north of Kabul) was known as Kāpiśayani.⁵ Pāṇini refers to two other varieties of wines *Kālikā* and *Ayadātikā*.⁶

Soma juice continued to be used in Strauta ritual but is not mentioned in the domestic rites.⁷ This probably means that it was no longer a common drink. The scarcity of the plant may have been one of the reasons as *Ādāra* a substitute is mentioned in the Āp. Sr. Su. XIV. 24. 12-13. *Parisruta* was another beverage.⁸ Some decoctions (*Kaṣāya*) of rice meal and flowers were also used as intoxicating beverages.⁹

It appears from the Gautama Dharma Sūtra that the Brāhmaṇas were prohibited from drinking any kind of intoxicating drinks.¹⁰ The Kṣattriyas and Vaiśyas could, however, take liquors prepared from honey, *madbhūka* flowers and *Guḍa* but not spirituous liquors distilled from flour.¹¹

¹ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7.21.8, I. 5.17.21, Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25, Vas. Dh. Su. I. 20.

² तथा कीलालौपधीर्णं च।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.21.

³ श्रीहिष्यामाकौदनाचामयोः शापतोकमलाज नमहृष्टूर्णः संसर्गो मासरम्।

Mahidhara on Vaj. Sam. XIX. 14.

दक्षिणेन हृत्वा नमहृ चूर्णानि कृत्वा लांश्च श्रीहिष्यामाकौदनयोः पृथगाचामी निविच्च
चूर्णे संसूज्य निदधाति तन्मासरम्

ओदनो चूर्णः मासरैः स ३५० सूज्य स्वादीं त्वाचेषुना त इति त्रिरात्रं निदधाति।

Kātya. Sr. Su. XIX. 1. 20-21.

⁴ अभ्यानि मेरेये।

Pāṇini VI. 2.70.

Cf. Manav. Gr. Su. II. 14. 28.

Pāṇini IV. 2. 99.

⁵ कापिश्याः पक्षः।

⁶ Pāṇini V. 4.3.

⁷ Kātya Sr. Su. XIV. 1. 14.

⁸ Ibid and XV 10.9. See F.D.A.I., p. 30. f. no. (159).

⁹ Pāṇini VI. 2.10.

¹⁰ Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 25.

Cf. Kath. Sam. XII. 12.

¹¹ History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II. Part II, p. 795—Kane.

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Apastamba lays down that it is the duty of the householder and his wife to see that the water vessels in the house are never empty.¹ This shows the importance which was attached to drinking water in this period. It was purified in a filter before use.² Waters from rivers and reservoirs having sweet smell, colour and taste were probably considered good for drinking.

THE ART OF COOKING

The art of cooking³ was well developed. This is clear from the fact that the various stages in the preparation of *Sthālī-pāka* (boiled rice fit for offering) are described in detail. Rice grains were washed by sprinkling water over them, husking them.⁴ They were then cooked with clarified butter. The preparation of *Purodāśa*, *Apūpa*, stuffed *Apūpas*, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Sāmyava* shows great skill in culinary art. An idea of the size of *Purodāśa* can be had from the fact that it is stated that four cups of ground grains were required to make one cake.⁵ Cooks were sometimes called according to the quantity of food stuff they handled.⁶ A distinction has also been made between solid (*Bhakya*) and liquid food.⁷ Meat, pulse soup and vegetables are regarded as solid foods. Some food stuffs such as *guḍa*, clarified butter and sesame

¹ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.15.

² उत्तरस्यां पदो वै तसेऽजाऽविलोभपवित्रेण ब्रह्मकथमिति

Kāty. Sr. Su. XIX. 2.12.

³ *Pakhl*—Pāṇini III. 3.95.

⁴ अस्तमिते स्थालीपाकं श्वपित्वैकपालं..... अवप्लुतः स्पात्।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.4-5.

Cf. Asv. Gr. Su. II. 319.

⁵ अनुज्ञमनपूपाङ्गिं कूर्मस्येव प्रतिकृतिमश्वसाकमात्रं करोति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 25.4.

⁶ आदकचित्पात्रात्खोऽन्यतरस्याम् ।

Pāṇini. V. 1.53.

कुलिजाल्लुकस्यौ च ।

Pāṇini V. I.55.

⁷ भोजयं भदये ।

Pāṇini VII. 3.69.

भदयेण मिशीकरणम् ।

Pāṇini II. 1.35.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ।

Pāṇini IV. 2.16.

Also see India in Pāṇini (H), pp. 115-116.

were mixed for different dishes.¹ Fried wheat flour was used as a stuffing and salt and curds were mixed with food preparations.²

Some of the common cooking implements were a cooking pot (*sthāli*), a ladle (*Srīva*), and a spoon (*Darvi*).³ Cups (*Sarāva*) were used for measuring food stuffs and a grind-stone and a mortar were regarded as very important.⁴ Vessels of copper, iron and stone were in common use besides earthenware. Sometimes gold vessels and those made of wood were also used.⁵ A piece of broken jar (*kāpāla*) was used for baking cakes.⁶ The omentum of a victim was grilled in a vessel (*Vapāśrapāni*) and meat was roasted on spits (*Hṛdayasīla*). An earthen utensil was used only once. If it had to be used again it was fired afresh. Metallic utensils were cleaned with ashes and wooden ones by scraping.⁷

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

In the Sūtras hospitality becomes one of the five daily duties of a householder.⁸ It is considered improper for an Ārya

¹ पत्तलसूपशार्कमित्रे ।

Pāṇini VI. 2.128.

² चूर्णादिनिः ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.23.

लवणाल्लुक् ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.24.

मुद्गादण् ।

Pāṇini IV. 4.25.

³ *Sthāli*—Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

Srīva—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.

Camasa—Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.

Darvi—Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19.

Ukhā—(fryingpan) Panini IV. 2.17.

Sārpa—(winnowing basket) Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.9.

⁴ *Sardha*—Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.3.

Ulukhala (mortar)—Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.8.

⁵ Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, IV. 3.19, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 9-12 Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 1.7, Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3.

काढ़े से चमसे वा दधिमधुनानीय वर्षीयसा मिशायाचमनीय प्रथमः प्रतिपचन्ते ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 9.6.

⁶ Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 7.7., Kh. Gr. Su. III. 3.30, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

⁷ अनाप्रीते मृत्युये भोक्तव्यम् । आप्रीतं चेदभिदृष्टे । परिमृष्टं लीहं प्रयतम् । निर्जितम् वाशमयम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 9-12.

⁸ The five daily duties of a householder were prayer to God (*Brahma-yajña*), offerings to gods (*Dvayayajña*), offerings to the spirits of the deceased

to take his meals without offering food to gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests.¹ A preceptor, a sacrificial priest, the father-in-law and a king were considered specially deserving of hospitality² but even a Sūdra guest was to be provided with food. Besides gods, Brāhmaṇas and guests a householder was expected to set apart some food for small creatures.³ New corn was not eaten without making offerings in fire.⁴

Besides hospitality much emphasis was laid on purity of food. Both in the morning and in the evening every respectable person (*Arya*) was expected to take his meals after cleaning his hands, feet and mouth.⁵ The *Sūdras* were expected to shave their hair and beard, pare their nails and bathe before being permitted to cook food for the higher castes.⁶ Grain was well

(*Pitṛyajña*), hospitality to the guests (*Atithiyajña*) and offerings to animals and birds (*Bhūtayajña*).

Asv. Gr. Su. II., III. 1-3, 1-2, Paras. Gr. Su. VI. 1.4.1.

सर्वस्य त्वज्ञस्याग्नौ कुत्वांशं ब्राह्मणाय दत्ता स्वयं कुर्यात् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.39.

¹ न रसान् गृहे भूङ्गीतानावयोपमतियध्यः । नात्मार्थमभिरूपमवं पाचयेत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 3-5.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 19, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.18.

² आचार्यायित्विंशे शवशुराय राजा इति परिसंवत्सराकुपतिष्ठद्यन्धो गीर्मधुपकर्दन । दधि-
मधु संसृष्टं मधुपक्वः । पयो वा मधुसंसृष्टम् । अभाव उक्तम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.8. 7-9.

तथैते अध्यर्थं ऋद्विकक्षवशुरपितृयो मातुलः आचार्यो राजा वा स्नातकः प्रियो वरो-
तिथिरिति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 2.65.

³ गृहेभिनोर्यदशनीयस्य होमा वलयश्च स्वर्गपृष्ठिसंयुक्ताः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.12.

अथगुडपायसंचूतमित्यमन्तं निवेदयति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. I. 10.11.

C.f. Kh. Gr. Su. I.5. 22-25.

⁴ सस्यं नाशनीयादग्निहोत्रमहूत्वा ।

Asv. Sr. Su. II. 9.

⁵ पाणिपादं प्रक्षालय चाम्यतो दक्षिणामुखो भूङ्गीत ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.

नानुस्पृश्य भोजनं प्रातः । सायमुपस्थृश्य भोजनमासग्निदावानात् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2. 8-9.

भोक्ष्यमाणस्तु प्रथतोऽपि द्विरात्रमेव द्विः परिमृजेत् सङ्कुपस्थृतेत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.9.

⁶ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 23. 1-6.

washed before being cooked.¹ Food articles which had stood overnight, which had turned sour or which were cooked twice were regarded as unfit for food², probably because they were considered unhygienic. But articles, which did not get spoilt such as roasted rice grains, porridge prepared with curds, roasted barley, groats, vegetables, meat, flour, milk preparations, roots, fruits and herbs could be eaten even the next day.³ To maintain purity of food it was laid down that one should not eat flavoured or prepared food bought from the market, but raw meat, honey, salt, oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market. It is also laid down that one should use unclean oil and ghee after purifying them with the addition of water.⁴ One is also advised not to eat that food in which there is a hair or any other unclean substance, which has been touched by an unclean substance, in which one finds an insect living on impure substance, excrement or limbs of a mouse. Food touched by foot, the hem of a garment, a dog or those persons who are not allowed to eat from one's utensils, brought in the hem of a garment or brought by a maid servant or brought at night was also to be avoided.⁵ Even food brought through a back door is

¹ त्रिकृतांस्तद्बुलास्तिर्देवमः प्रकालयेदित्याहृष्टिमनुष्यमः सकृत् पितॄन्य इति ।
Gobh. Gr. Su. I. 7.5.

C.f. Kh. Gr. Su. II. 10-12.

² कृतान्नं पर्युपितमस्ताद्यमपेयानाद्यम् । शुक्तं च, शुक्तं चापरयोगम् ।
Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 17-20.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 14-16. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 28-29.

³ फाणितपृष्ठुक्तद्बुलकरमभरणसन्तु, शाकमांसं पिष्टक्षीरविकारौपविकनस्तिमूलकल-
वर्जम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 19.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 3.7-38, Manu. V. 25. V. 10, V. 24, Yaj. I. 167-68.

⁴ नापशीयमशनीयात् । तथारसानाममांसमधुलवणानीति परिहाप्य । तेलसर्पिणी तूपयोजये-
दुदेवधाय ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 14-16.

The process of separating impurities from clarified butter by the addition of cold water is followed to this day.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26.

⁵ यस्मिंदद्वान्ने केशः स्थात् । अत्यद् वामेध्यम् । अमेध्यैरवमृष्टम् । कीटो वामेध्यसेवी ।
मूषकलाङ्गो वा । पदा वोपहृतम् । सिंचा वा । शुना वापपायेण वा दृष्टम् । सिंचा वोपहृतम् ।
दास्या वा नक्तमाहृतम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 23-32.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.12.6, Mbh. Anu.
161-100.

prohibited.¹ Food which was smelt by human beings and impure animals such as cats was also avoided.²

But ideas of cleanliness appear to have been tempered with by sound commonsense. It was probably realized that it would be difficult to throw or discard food articles when prepared in bulk on the occasion of some religious ceremonies or marriages even if they were touched by dogs or crows. So the lawgivers prescribe that such food articles could be used after removing the defiled portion and sprinkling water on the remainder. Even food, left after a cat had eaten from it, was regarded as pure.³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that even stale food could be eaten after pouring over it curds or clarified butter.⁴

It is laid down that one should leave off eating if during his meal he is touched by a *Sādra*. He should not dine with unworthy people. It was considered improper to dine with one who gives his leavings to his pupils or gets up while others are eating.⁵ But it was customary for a wife to eat food left in her husband's plate.⁶

But some rigidity seems to have come with regard to the acceptance of food from various castes, for while some law givers

¹ नापरया द्वारा प्रपत्तमन्तं भुञ्जीत ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 5. 7.

² मनुष्यैववद्वातमन्यर्वा मेध्यैः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 5.

³ देवद्रोण्यां विवाहेषु यजेषु प्रकृतेषु च ।

कार्कैः इवभिश्च संस्पृष्टमन्तं तथा विसर्जयेत् । २५।

तस्मादद्वामपोद्वृत्य शेषं संस्कारमहंति ।

द्रवाणां प्लावनं नैव घनानां प्रोक्षणेन तु । २६।

माजरिस्मुखसंस्पृष्टं शुचिं एव हि तद् भवेत् । २७।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 25-27.

⁴ अनं पर्युषितं भावद्वृष्टं सकृलेखं पुनः सिद्धमाभ्यांसं पक्वं च कामं तु दध्ना शूतेन वा भिषारितमुपयुञ्जीत ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 24.

⁵ भुञ्जानं वा ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.33.

यत्र शूद्र उपस्पृशेत् । १। अनहंद्विर्वा समानपङ्कती । २।

भुञ्जानेषु वा यत्रानुरथायोच्छिष्टं प्रयच्छेदाचमेद्वा । ३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.11-3. .

⁶ भुक्तवोच्छिष्टं वश्वं प्रदाय यथार्थं गौर्दक्षिणा ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 5.22.

भुक्तवोच्छिष्टं वश्वं दद्यात् ।

Kh. Gr. Su. I. 4.11.

of the period lay down that food offered by people of any caste could be accepted, provided they follow the laws prescribed for them.¹ Others thought that this rule did not apply to a Sūdra unless he was *Dharmopanata*.² Food articles such as water, roots, milk, curds, roasted grain, small fish, venison and vegetables offered by a member of any caste could be accepted.³ Uncooked and unflavoured boiled food could also be accepted.⁴ In times of scarcity a Brāhmaṇa could eat even the food offered by a Sūdra but he is advised to leave the practice as soon as he obtains lawful livelihood.⁵ The food of a herdsman, a farmer, an acquaintance of the family, a barber or a family servant could, however, be eaten without any hesitation.⁶ Āpastamba clearly allows Sūdras to cook food under the supervision of an Ārya.⁷

It is also laid down that food offered by an association, by a general invitation, by an artisan, by a person who lives by the use of arms, by those who let out lodgings, by a physician, a usurer, should not be taken.⁸ Food served by a eunuch, the professional messenger of a king, a Brāhmaṇa who offers substances unfit for a sacrifice, a spy, a person who has become a hermit without observing the proper laws, a learned Brāhmaṇa who

¹ Gaut. Dh. Su. XIII. 1.

² सुवर्णवर्णानि स्वधर्मे वर्तमानानि भोक्तव्यं शूद्रवर्जमित्येके ।१३। तस्यापि धर्मोपनतस्य ।१४। सुवर्णं दत्वा पशुं वा भूजीत नात्यन्तमन्ववस्थेद् वृत्तिं प्राप्य विरमेत् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 13-15.

C.f. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 1, XVII. 5, Vas. Dh. Su. XX. 19.

³ Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 2.

In case of a sacrifice, however, Baudhāyana does not allow a Sūdra even to milk a cow. (Baud. Sr. Su. XXIV. 31.)

⁴ मध्वार्थं मार्गं मासं भूमिर्भूतफलानि रक्षा गव्यूतिनिवेशनं युग्यधासक्षोभतः प्रतिगृह्णाणं । आर्थं वा गृह्णीत्वा चुतावस्थं वा विरतस्य ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 1-4.

Ugta—a person whose father is a Vaiśya and mother a Sūdra.

⁵ स्वयमप्यवृत्तीं सुवर्णं दत्वा पशुं वा भूजीत ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18.6.

⁶ Gaut. Dh. Su. XVIII. 6.

⁷ आर्याधिष्ठिता वा शूद्राः संस्कताः स्युः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4.

⁸ सज्जात्रभोज्यम् ।१६। परिकृष्टं च ।१७। सर्वेषां च शिल्वाजीवाजाम् ।१८। ये च शस्त्रमाजीवन्ति ।१९। ये चाष्टिम् ।२०। भिष्टक् ।२१। वार्धुपिकः ।२२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 16-22.

C.f. Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 2-21.

avoids everybody or who eats the food of anybody or who neglects the daily study of the Vedas and one whose wife is a Sūdra should also be avoided.¹

It is also laid down that a Brāhmaṇa student who has completed his Vedic studies should, as a matter of course, accept the food offered by a Brāhmaṇa. Such a student should not accept the food offered by members of any other caste. If a person is observing a penance the student should accept food only when the rites are over.²

Food supplied by a drunkenman, a mad man, a prisoner, he who learns the Veda from his son, a creditor who sits with his debtor hindering the fulfilment of his duties and vice versa was also avoided.³ Food, touched by a woman during her courses was, as before, considered impure.⁴ Food of those families where a death had taken place was avoided for ten days as also of those where a woman had not come out of her confinement chamber after parturition or where a corpse lay inside the house.⁵ Food, according to Āpastamba, touched by a high caste person, who was impure, could be eaten but brought by an impure Sūdra could not be eaten.⁶

¹ कलीबः । २७। राजा प्रैषकरः । २८। अहविष्यजी । २९। चारी । ३०। अविधिता च प्रव-
जितः । ३१। यस्त्वाग्नीतपास्पति । ३२। यश्च सर्वान् वर्जयते सर्वान्नी च शोत्रियो निराकृति-
वृच्छी पतिः । ३३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 28-33.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1, Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 17-18, XV. 18.

² व्राणां वणिनां शत्रियप्रभृतीनां तमावृतेन न भोक्तव्यम् । ६। प्रकृत्या प्राह्याणस्य
भोक्तव्यम् कारणादभोज्यम् । १०। यत्राप्रायश्चित्तं कर्मसेवते प्रायश्चित्तवति । ११। चरित-
निवेष्टस्य भोक्तव्यम् । १२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.18. 9-12.

³ मत्त उन्मत्तो बद्धोणिकः प्रत्युपविष्टो यश्च प्रत्युपवेशयते तावन्तं कालम् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 6.19.1.

⁴ रजस्वलाकृणशकुनिपदोपहतम् ।

Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 10

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 27 and 29, Vas. Dh. Su. V. 7.

⁵ यस्य कुले श्रियेत् न तत्रानिदेशे भोक्तव्यम् । १८। तथानुत्थिताणां सूतिकाणाम् । १६।
अन्तः शब्दे च । २०।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 18-20.

⁶ अप्रयतोपहतमत्तमप्रयतं न त्वभोज्यम् । २१।

प्रप्रयतेन तु शूद्रेणोपहतमभोज्यम् । २२।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16. 21-22.

These law givers give long lists of those Brāhmaṇas who sanctify the company of diners and of those who defile such company. In the first category are mentioned those persons who comprehend the meaning of the Vedas, students, liberal donors, and persons who have attained the age of hundred years.¹ In the second category are persons suffering from leprosy, baldmen, persons guilty of adultery, Brāhmaṇas who follow the profession of arms and the son of a Sūdra with a Brāhmaṇa mother.²

The authors of the Sūtras also lay down that one should not eat food which is given after reviling nor should one revile food while taking one's meals.³ Vasiṣṭha lays down that one should praise food, show one's delight at it and not find fault with it when it is served.⁴ Baudhāyana also lays down that a person should, while taking food, keep himself free from lust, anger, hatred, greed and perplexity.⁵

Another important rule which we find in the Sūtras is that the food should suit the age and stage in life of a man. The food of children consisted of boiled rice with curds, honey, clarified butter or water. Some times they were given some meat preparations.⁶ Students were advised not to take food which

¹ त्रिमषुस्त्रिसुपर्णदिवणाचिकेलशतुर्मैःः पञ्चनिन्द्येष्टसामगो वेदाभ्यायनूचानपुत्रः श्रोत्रिय इत्येते आदे भुज्जानाः पाङ्गतपादना भवन्ति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7. 17.22.

² शिवशः विपिविष्टः परतल्पगाम्यायुधीयपुत्रः शूद्रोल्पगो ब्राह्मणामित्येते आदे भुज्जानाः पक्षित दूषणा भवन्ति ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17.21.

³ द्विषत् द्विषतो वा नान्नमशनीयाद्योपेण वा मीमांसामानस्य मीमांसितस्व वा ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 3.6.19.

कृत्सयित्वा वा यत्रात्म दशुः ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.4.

अस्मद्दद्यन् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.6.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.7.

⁴ रोचत इति सायं प्रातरशनान्यभिपूजयेत् । स्वदितमिति पिश्येषु सम्पन्नमित्याभ्युदाधिकेषु ।

Vasishta Dh. Su. III. 62-62.

Cf. Kh. Gr. Su. I. 5.19, Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.3.11, Vishnu. Dh. Su. 68. 42.

⁵ Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 3.5.21.

⁶ अशोदनं दधा मधुना घृतेनादभिरिति समुदायुल्य हिरण्येनीपथस्य कुमारं प्राशयति ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 3.3.

Cf. Ap. Gr. Su. 6.16, Sankh. Gr. Su. I. 24.3, Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.1, Paras. Gr. Su. I. 19.8.

was offered at a sacrifice probably because it consisted of meat preparations and exciting dishes consisting of pungent condiments, salt and honey.¹ Ordinarily they were expected to go out for begging alms because, according to the authors of the Sūtras it made them humble. But there was no restriction on the quantity of food a student should take.²

A householder is also advised to take two full meals consisting of 32 mouthfuls so that he may be able to perform his work efficiently.³ Āpastamba also allows partaking of roots and fruits between the two principal meals.⁴ A newly married couple was, as already stated, not allowed to use pungent or saline food for three days after marriage.⁵ When a householder performed a sacrifice he was expected to take only fast day food in which meat and other exciting food stuffs were avoided.⁶ He was expected to eat only once in the afternoon and that too not

¹ मानुदेश्यं भूज्जीत । २२। तथाकारलवणमधुमातानि । २३।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 22-23.

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 4.6, Gaut. Dh. Su. II. 13, Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 3.23-24., Parsk. Gr. Su. II. 5.12, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 117. 19-23, Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1. 12.

² भैक्षाचार्यं वृत्तिः स्पात् ।

Manav. Gr. Su. I. 1.2.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.4.7., Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 2.52.

यषट्टौ ग्रासा चुनेर्भैक्षयः योडक्षारलव्यासिनः ।

द्वात्रिंशतं गृहस्थस्यापरिमितं ब्रह्मचारिणः ।

Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.8.

गृहस्थो ब्रह्मचारी वा योनाशनस्तु तपस्चरेत् ।

प्राणान्हिनहोत्रलोपेन ह्यवकीर्णी भवेत् सः ।

Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 17.10.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 1.1.2, II. 8.19.10, II. 4.9. 12-13, Vas. Dh. Su. VI. 20-21
Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.10, Gaut. Dh. Su. 9.59, Gobh. Gr. Su. III. 2.9.

सिद्धे सायं प्रातर्भूतमित्युक्तं ओमित्युच्चैर्यात् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. I. 5.20.

⁴ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.

⁵ तावुभौ तत्प्रभृति त्रिरात्रमकारलवणाशिनी ब्रह्मचारिणी भूमौ शबीयाताम् ।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 3.15.

⁶ अपराह्ने स्नात्वौपवस्थिकंदम्पती भूज्जीवाताम् ।

Khadira Gr. Su. II. 1.4.

अहनि मा ३५ समैथुने वर्जयेत् ।

Katya. Sr. Su. II. 1.8.

Cf. Sankh. Sr. Su. III. 8.18.

to satiety when observing a fast.¹

Hermits generally lived upon roots, fruits, leaves, straws or gleanings of corn.² They could include clarified butter and curds in their food, but not stale food, pungent condiments, saline preparations or meat.³ Many ascetics subsisted only on milk and barley gruel.⁴ All the Sūtras lay down that the foresters should practise moderation in food. They should only take as much food as was necessary to maintain life.⁵

We also find some rules of etiquette in the Sūtras. It is laid down that one should eat sitting on a piece of ground which has been purified by the application of cowdung etc. He should not eat in a boat or on a wooden platform.⁶ It is prescribed that he should sit with his face towards the east or towards the south. But facing the south is not allowed if the diner's mother is alive.⁷ A person should have his sacred thread as also his upper garment when taking his meals.⁸

Some other rules of etiquette were that a person should not make a sound with his mouth, and should not speak while

¹ अपराह्ने व्रतोपायनीयमशनीतः सर्पिषाम्भुहितौ।

Kath. Sr. Su., Su. II. 1.10.

Cf. *Sabita Pan.* II. 2.11. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.9.

² ततो मूलं फलं पर्णस्तृणैरिति वस्तयश्चरेत्। शिलोव्युत्तेत वर्तयेत्।

AP. Dh. Su. II. 9.23.2.

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 9.22.10.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.15.

³ Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 2.22.

Cf. Gaut. Dh. Su. XVII. 13.

⁴ Baudh. Dh. Su. III. 7.8.

⁵ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 4.9.13, Vasistha. Dh. Su. 6. 20.21,
Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7. 31-32, II. 7.13.2.

⁶ कृतभूमी तु भृजीति।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.8.

न नावि भृजीति। तथा प्रातादे।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17. 6-7.

The skin of an ox was used as a seat in this period.

गृहणतां पतिपुत्राणालक्ष्मप्राप्ता ब्राह्मणोऽपरोप्याननुहृ चर्मण्युपवेशदद्विति।

Gobh. Gr. Su. II. 4.6.

⁷ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8. 191-92, I. 11.31.1, Vas. Dh. Su. XVII. 18,

पाणिपादं प्रशाल्य....वाय्यतो दक्षिणा मुखो भृजीति।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.1.

⁸ सौतराज्ञादनस्त्वैव यज्ञोपवीती भृजीति।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.16.

taking his meals.¹ Biting off pieces from a cake with teeth² and drinking water standing or bending forward were also considered unmannerly.³ Eating in the company of one's wife and⁴ serving fats, salts and condiments in the hand were considered improper.⁵ Declaring the qualities of food was considered unmannerly.⁶ In a party one was not to begin eating before others and was not to leave the party while others were taking food. All others were expected to abstain from eating after anyone had left.⁷

Apastamba forbids the use of dark grains such as *Māṣa* beans in a Sraddha.⁸ Eating garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips and *Slesmātaka* fruit is also forbidden. The use of red sap flowing from incisions made in the bark of trees and of food preparations which have turned sour is interdicted.⁹

It appears that generally warm food fried in ghee was liked.¹⁰ Some people observed fasts while some were glut-

¹ न च मूखशब्दं कुर्यात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.10.

कृत्स्नं ग्रासं ग्रसीत न च मूख शब्दं कुर्यात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19.9-10.

Cf. Ap. Dh. Su. II. 2.4. 22-23, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.6.

² दिद्रिरपूपस्य नापच्छन्द्यात् ।

Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.17.

Cf. Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 7.8.

³ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.16.1.

⁴ भावेया सहृ नाशनीयादवौद्यैवदपत्यं भवतीति वाजसनेयके विज्ञायते ।

Vas. Dh. Su. 12. 29.

⁵ हस्तदत्तास्तु ये स्नेहा लवणव्यञ्जनानि च

दातारं नोपतिष्ठन्ति भोक्ता भूज्यते किल्वपम् ।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 26.

⁶ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29-30.

⁷ Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.3., Gaut. Dh. Su. 17.19.

⁸ Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18.2.

⁹ लशुनपलाण्डुकेमुकागृज्जनश्लेष्मातकवृक्षनियसिलोहितवृहचनद्वकाकावलीहशुद्वोच्छाट-भोजनेपुरुच्छु अतिकृच्छु इतरेऽप्यन्यत्र मधुमांसफलविकर्षेत्यग्राम्यपश्चव विषयः । २६। सुधिनीक्षीरमवत्साक्षीरं गोमहिव्यजातामनिर्देशाहानामन्तरव्युदकमपूषधानाकरम-सक्तुवटकतैलपायसशाकानि शुक्तानि वर्जयेत् अन्यांश्च क्षीर यवपिष्टविकारान् । २७।

Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 28-29.

¹⁰ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 29.

तेन सर्विष्मता ब्राह्मणं भोजयेत् ।

Ap. Gr. Su. III. 7.15.

tons.¹ The custom of feeding domestic servants seems to have been common.² The leavings of food (*Sarāva odana*) were perhaps given to scavengers. Food left in the vessel from which it was served (*Mallaka odana*) was probably given to the barber and food left behind in the cooking pot (*Kārpara odana*) to the cooks.³

At the time of *Upanayana* ceremony a common dinner was given to the playmates of the boy who was to be invested with sacred thread.⁴ When a householder entered a new house people feasted themselves with liquor, curds, honey, ghee and barley preparations.⁵ When a bride was brought to her husband's house some women enjoyed a feast with food articles, vegetables and liquor and performed a dance. Green or ripe fruits were given as a present to the bride.⁶

In connection with a *Śrāddha* the Brāhmaṇas were informed two days before, reminded the next day and again requested to grace the occasion on the actual day of the ceremony.⁷ Vasiṣṭha lays down that the invitation should be extended to three ascetics, or three householders who are well versed in Vedic studies, are not very aged and do not follow forbidden occupations. But Baudhāyana prescribes that ordinarily two Brāhmaṇas should be fed in a sacrifice and three in a *Śrāddha*. They were made to sit on seats made of grass.⁸ The food preparations were generally mixed with ghee and included sesamum and meat. In the absence

¹ *Vrata*—Pan. III. 1.31.

Andarika—Pan. V. 2.67.

Gṛbhraka
Admara }—Pan. III. 2. 160.

² *Odanika, Śrāgika, Āpūpika*.

³ Pan. Ag. (H), p. 129.

⁴ Baudh. Gr. Su.

⁵ Par. Gr. Su. III. 4.

⁶ Sankh. Gr. Su. I. II.4.

तस्मैशकलोटाङ्गलावावयेषुः। फलानिवा।

Gobhila Gr. Su. II. 4.8.9.

⁷ पूर्वेणुनिवेदनम् । ११। अपरेणुद्वितीयम् । १२। तृतीयमामन्त्रणम् । १३।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.17. 11-13.

⁸ Vas. Dh. Su. XI. 15.

पृथक् मार्त्तं चौदर्नं चापूषांच शप्यन्त्यन्वांच भश्यविशेषांतसर्वं सिद्धं सभानीयां
युमान् जाह्नवान् सुप्रशालितपाणिपादानप्राचमय सदर्भेष्टक्लृप्तेष्वासनेषु द्वौ देवे शीन्
पित्र्ये एकैकमुभयक वा प्राद्यमुखानुपवेशत्युद्यमुखान् वा।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.16.

of meat and ghee, vegetables and oil were used by poor people. But Āpastamba prohibits the use of oil cakes, wine, meat, dark grains and food obtained from a Sūdra.¹ The custom of offering a ball of flour to the manes seems to be very old as it is mentioned in the Nirukta and the Lātyāyana Sr. Su.²

Baudhāyana mentions drinking liquor as a peculiar custom of the Brāhmaṇas in the north and taking food cooked overnight and in the company of their wives, or uninitiated persons as a peculiar custom of the inhabitants of the south.³

To sum up, in the Sūtras rice occupies the same important place among the foodgrains as barley. Some fine preparations such as Prthuka and sanīyāva were used. Of the pulses, besides Māṣa and Mudga, Kulattha, Āḍbhakī and gram had come into use. Vāṭakas and Parpaṭas were also prepared with pulses. Aryans were fully acquainted with the process of making sugarcane products in this period. Meat of animals, which were considered unhygienic, was avoided. Perhaps drinking was common but Brāhmaṇas avoided all intoxicating drinks while the Kṣattriyas and Vaiśyas, only those prepared from cereals. Much stress was laid on the practice of the virtue of hospitality and purity of food. The notion of food getting defiled by contact with persons not leading virtuous lives or following low professions was much developed in Madhyadeśa.

¹ Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15.11, Baudh. Dh. Su. II. 8.8, Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64.
स्नेहृष्टि त्वेवान्ने पितॄणां प्रीतिदृष्टीयांसं च कालम्।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 7.16.24.

नैव्यमिकं तु आदें स्नेहृष्टे च दद्यात् । १७। सर्पिर्हौसमिति प्रथमः कल्पः । १८। अभावे
तैलं शाकमिति । १६।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.19. 17-19.

विलयनं मधितं पिण्डाकं मधु मांसं च वर्जयेत् । १।
कृष्णधान्यं शूद्रान्नं ये चान्येनाश्वसंगताः । २।

Ap. Dh. Su. II. 8.18. 1-2.

तिलाश्वाद्वे पवित्रं यदि दानाय यदि भोजनाय यथापां संसर्जनाय ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.64.

खद्गः आद्वे पवित्रं यदि मांसं यद्यस्थिमयं पात्रम् ।

Baudh. Gr. Su. II. 11.65.

² Nirukta III. 4.

Lātya. Sr. Su. II. 10.4.

³ Baudh. Dh. Su. I. 1.2. 3-4.

SECTION 2 (EARLY BUDDHIST AND JAIN WORKS)

CEREALS AND PULSES

In the Buddhist and Jain works food has been classified into four categories—soft food such as boiled rice, hard food such as roots and fruits, beverages and relishable articles.¹ But, the food grains, particularly rice was the staple food of the people in the north eastern India.² Rice was also provided at the public rest houses.³ Both the varieties of rice *Vribi* (common variety) and *Sāli* (fine variety) were equally popular.⁴ But it appears that *Sāli* rice with its three famous varieties *Raktaśāli*, *Kalamasāli* and *Mahāśāli* was the favourite food of the rich.⁵ *Kalamasāli* was cultivated in Magadha and is recommended as the best food in

¹ Digh. 30 (Lakkhana Sutta).

Soft food (*Bhojanīya*)^a in the Buddhist works includes boiled rice (*odana*), boiled mixture of barley and beans (*kumudīsa*), parched barley meal (*rakshū*), meat (*māsa*) and fish (*maseba*) while hard food (*khādaniya*)^b includes roots, stalks, leaves flowers and fruit.

(a) Vin. IV. 92, J. 127, J. III. 349, J. 339.

(b) Vin. Mahāvagga VI. 16, Bhikkhu. Pati V. 35, Bhikkhuni Pati IV 120.

In the Jain works the four categories of food articles are called *asana* (soft food), *Khadīma* (hard food), *Pāna* (beverages) and *Sārima* (relishable articles).

Aca. II. 1.228, 523, Nisi III. 1, Naya. I. 72, Vipak. I. 38.

² *Sāli* and *Vribi*—Majjhima I. 57, Panna. I. 23.40, Brhatk. Su. II. 1, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, I. 340, 115, 543, Thera G. 381.

In the south also rice must have been the staple food grain as it was exported from India to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. The Greek word Oryza is from the Tamil word 'Arisi' (rice).

T.R. Sesh Iyengar—The Ancient Dravidians, p. 136.

³ Milind. I. 10, II. 5, J. 31.

⁴ *Vribi*—J. I. 340, 115, 543, Thera. G. 381.

Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 2-3.

Sāli—J. 325, 512, III. 144, Milind I. 157.

Thera. G. 381, Digh. I. 105, II. 293, Vin. IV. 264,

Majjhim. I. 57, Ang. IV. I. 32.145, III. 49, IV. 108,

Brhatk. Bha. I. 828, Sutra II. 1, Panna. I. 23-24.

सालीनामोदने भूज्ञे सुचि मांसुपसेचनम् ।

J. III. 144.

⁵ *Raktaśāli* (red variety) J. 73, Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301, Milind. 252 calls it *Sālihobitaka*.

Kalamasāli—It was cultivated in Magadha. (Thera G. 208).

Cf. Uva. I. 8.35, Sutra II. 18.30.

Mahāśāli—Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301.

Gandhasāli—(Fragrant variety) Brhatk. Bha. II. 3301.

the Uva.¹ Rice was cooked with choicest flavours.² A mixture of rice and sesamum was very popular.³ Boiled rice was generally liked hot.⁴ Next to boiled rice the favourite preparation of rice was a gruel (*Yāgu*) which is highly praised both in the Buddhist and the Jain works.⁵ Parched rice was sweetened before eating. Besides *Prthuka* and ordinary cakes (*apūpa*), delicious ones (*Sasikuli*) were prepared from rice.⁶ Sometimes cakes were pre-

¹ कलम सालि ओदणेण अवसेसं ओदणविर्हि पच्चक्षाति ।

Uva. I. 35.

² नानामरसम् सालि भत्तम् पड़े हीति ।

J. 450.

नानामं रसेहि सूप व्यञ्जनेहि भत्तपातिम् सज्जेत्वा ।

J. 496.

³ *Tilodana*—J. III. 425.

⁴ भत्तं सम्पादेत्वा सूपम्बन्धजसम्पन्नम् उण्ह भत्तम् वडेत्वा ।

J. 212.

⁵ यागु देन्तो आयु देति, वण्णम देति, मुखं देति, बलं देति, पटिभानम देति, याशुपीता खुदम् पटिहनति, पिपासम् विनोदेति, बातम् अनुलोभेति, वत्तिम् सोधेति, आभावसेसम् पोचति । इमे खो ज्ञाहुण देशा निशंसा यागु याऽति ।

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 24.5.

उदर बाता बाधो ते कटुलाय यागु या फाकु हीतीति सामम तिलम पि तण्डुलम् मुगम् पि पञ्चा पेत्वा अन्तो वासेत्वा अन्तो सोभम् पचित्वा भगवतो उपनामेति पिक्तु भगवा ते कटुला यागुमृति ।

Vin. VI. 17.1.

C.f. Vin. Mahavagga (H) VI. 4.3, Vin. Mahavagga. I. 298.10, VI. 25.3, 33.3, J. 109.

Kassabupajjā was some good variety of gruel as it is recommended in the Uva.

कट्ठ पिजाते अवसेसं पिज्ज विर्हि पच्चक्षाति ।

Uva. I. 33.

According to the commentary it was a decoction of some pulses such as Mudga or other corn or of rice fried in ghee.

मुद्वादि यूधः बृत्तसित तण्डुल पेया वा ।

⁶ *Jjhāmabbatta*—(parched rice).

ओदन कात्तिक उक्तम भत्तम् विधास तिणम् खादापेत्वा कुण्डक यागुङ्च पायेत्वा पहिजग्यामि ।

J. 254.

C.f. J. IV. 214, 281.

Madhūlāja (Parched barley sweetened with sugar).

मच्छ मांस कला फलाहि च एव मधुलाज सक्षरा पानकादीहि च परिजग्मिणु ।

J. 339.

कच्चनतटूके मधुलाजे सक्षरोदकाङ्च वापेत्वा ।

J. 476.

pared from broken rice grains. Scum of boiled rice was also used as food.¹

Besides rice, barley and wheat were also used but they were not so popular.² Barley continued to be parched and ground into meal.³ Cakes of wheat are frequently mentioned.⁴ Some other inferior cereals such as *Kodrava*, *Syāmāka*, *Cinaka* and *Priyanigru* were used by poor people and ascetics.⁵ Cakes prepared

Pinda—(sweet cakes)

पूव सबखलि आदीनि चेव कला दीनि च हरत्तो।

J. 252.

Pinda. Nir. 557.

Pibuya (*Pithuka*)

पिहुयं वा बहुहयं वा भुजियं वा मंथं वा चारलं वा चाडलपलंदं वा।

Aca. II. 1. 527.

Sakkuli (*Sajkuli*)

पिंडं वा लौयं वा ग्रसणं वा, पाणं वा, लीरं वा, दधिं वा, धयं वा, गुलं वा, तेलं वा, सकुलि वा फाणियं वा पूर्णं वा सिहरणि वा

Aca. I. 45. 566.

Bṛhatk. I. 2.8, Das. V. 71.

¹ *Kanaphūra*—(cakes prepared from broken rice grains) J. 109.

Ādama—(scum of boiled rice) Uttara XV.

² *Barley*

पुढी साली जवा चेव हिरण्णं पसुभिस्तह।

पटि पूर्णा नाल मेगस्त इइ विज्ञा तवं चरे।

Uttara IX. 49.

Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7.13, J. I. 573, II. 110, III. 216, IV. 580.

Wheat

तिल तष्ठुला मुदग मापा यवा गोष्ठम मसूरा: शालयः।

Vin. (Mahavagga) VI. 16.33.

Sutra. II. 1, Panna, I. 23-40, Bhag. XIV. 7. 13, Brhatk Bha. I. 828.

³ *Saktu*—Ava. Cu. II. 317.

Mantha—Aca. II. 1.527.

⁴ *Khajaka*—Cakes prepared with wheat flour.

Sometimes they were coated with sugar. It seems they were very much liked.

अहं यागुं दातुं न सन्तिसामि लज्जकम्य न दस्तामीति सप्तण कुण्डक वहोपत्वा।

J. 109.

अयपुण्णेहि लंदसज्जेहि वा अवसेसं भक्षणविहि पच्चक्षाति।

Uva. I. 34.

⁵ *Kodrava*—(*Paspalum scorbiculatum*). It was generally eaten by the poor.

Vin. Ma. II. 211.14, Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Syāmāka—Digh. I. 166., Majjhima. I. 78, Angu. I. 295, II. 206.

Sutt. Np. II. 1, J. 546, S.B.B. V. 110, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 211.14, J. III. 144, Samyutt. N. II. 2.1.

with some inferior grains are mentioned in the Buddhist and Jain works as the food of the poor people.¹ Of the pulses the most popular were *Mudga*, *Māṣa*, *Masūra*, (lentil), *Kulaththa* (horsegram), *Kalāya* (pea) and *Āḍbaki*.² Some other varieties are also mentioned.³ The most common preparation was a soup (*Yūsa*

Cinaka—(*Panicum miliaceum*).

कोद्रवो वा स्यामको वा चिन्क्रो वा प्रियङ्गवी।

Vin. Mv. II. 211.14.

Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Priyaṅgu—J. 546, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 211.14., Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I 23-40, Bhag. XXI. 3.

Varaka—a variety of *Priyaṅgu* is also mentioned. Bhag. XXI. 3, Sutra. II. 2.

¹ *Kuññipāsa*—J. 415, Ghatika Sutta 81, Rāṭṭhapāla Sutta. 82, S.B.B. V. 177, Vin. Mahavagga. II. 269.15, 277.18, Majjhima. II. 176,

Cake prepared with inferior grains were also used.

अन्तरापणतो चत्तारो कुम्भासपिष्ठे गहेत्वा

J. 415.

² *Mudga*

यदि वा मुग्धूसम् यदि वा कुलत्थूसम्

यदि वा कलायूसम् यदि वा हरेण्यूसम्।

S.B.B. V. 176.

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 115, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Māṣa—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, J. 546, Bhag. XXI. 2, Su. II. 1. तिलतण्डुलामदृगमायावागोधूममसूराःशालयः।

Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33.

Masūra—Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 16.33, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Kulaththa—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Kalāya—S.B.B. V. 176, J. 176, From J. I. 176 we learn that it was given to horses.

Āḍbaki—Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

³ *Capara* (gram)—Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Harenu (a kind of pea)—S.B.B. V. 176, Vin. Mahavagga. I. 245, J. V. 405, VI. 537.

Other food grains mentioned in the Jain works are :

Akuṇḍhaka (modern kuttu) Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II. 1, Panna. I. 23-40.

Sarpa (Linum usitatissimum) Ibid

Nispāva (Nispāva) Ibid

Alisanḍaga—a grain coming from Alexandria (a variety of chickpea). Ibid

Atasi (linseed) Ibid

Pālīmāntaka Ibid

Kusumibba (safflower) Ibid

Rālega (the resin of Shorea Rubusta) Ibid

जे जहानामए केरपुरिसे कलममसूरतिलमुग्मासनिष्काबकुलत्थश्लिसंदप्लिमंथ गमदि

एहि।

Sutra II. 18.30.

or *Sūpa*) but round balls of pulses fried in clarified butter were common. These round balls were made sour by fermentation. *Parpafas* (very thin cakes) were also prepared with pulses.¹

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides food grains, milk and its products were important articles of food both for the Buddhists and the Jains.² The Buddha himself allowed them to his followers.³ Sometimes some pungent drugs were added to milk so that it might be used as a cure for cold.⁴ In addition to the milk of cows and buffaloes that of camels and goats was also used.⁵ Milk rice was a favourite

सातिवीहिं घुमजवाकलमसूरतिलमुभामासणिप्पावकुलत्यश्चितंद त ईज एलिषा।
अथसीकुसुंभकोद्यकंगूरालगवरदृ कोह सासणसरित्यमूलगवीभमाइआदेस भेण्ण।

Panna. I. 23-40.

¹ *Vijja*—भवति रसगन्धयोसो।

Vin. Mv. I. 298.1.

Sūpa—कलयसूहेण वा मुभगमासमूण वा अवसेसं सूपविहि पच्चक्षाति।

Uva. I. 36.

यागु यो पचन्ति भत्तानि पषन्ति सूपानि सम्यादेन्ति मंसानि कोट्टेन्ति।

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.3.

Cooked pulses were also called *Aparappa*.

अपरण नाम सूपेयम्।

Anguttara. IV. 112.

Parpafa—Mmk. 147.4, Aca. II. 1. 327, Panna. I, Aca. 614.

Vataka—(round balls).

सेहं व दालियं वेहि अवसेसं जीमणविहि पच्चक्षाति।

Uva. I. 40.

C.f. Uva. I. 38.

² सेय्यथापि चित्तगवा लीरं, खीरम्हादधि, दधिम्हा नवनीतं, नवनीतम्हा सत्पि, सत्पिमण्डो।

Digh. N. Potthapāda Sutta. 54.

Vin. Mv. (H) VI. 6.3, Vin. I. 243, II. 301, Majjhima. I. 343, Ang. II. 207, Puggala Pannati 56, Ang. II. 95, Digh. I. 201, Dhamma. Ti. 198, Vin. Mv. VI. 34.21 J. I. 296, 388, 457.

³ The milk products which the Buddha allowed to his followers were milk, curds, butter milk, butter and ghee. Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.3.

इमानि लो पञ्च भेषजानि सेय्यथीदम् सत्पि नवनीतम् तेलम् मधु फाणितम् भेस-
जानि।

⁴ तिखिजनेसज्जपरिवारिं लीरं पिवन्ति।

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21.

⁵ Av. Cu. II. 319.

J. 127.

food¹ and the Jains used dried pieces of cloth moistened with milk, for drinking water mixed with this dried milk.²

Of the milk products curds were the most important.³ From curds was prepared the favourite dish *Sikbarīṇī* by mixing crystal sugar and some pungent spices.⁴ Fresh butter and clarified butter were much used.⁵ In the Uva. cow's ghee is regarded as the best especially its creamy part (*Manda*).⁶ Butter milk and a preparation of it called *Sāga* were in common use.⁷

MEAT PREPARATIONS

From the Buddhist works we know that the number of non-vegetarian people was considerable.⁸ We read of a meat market in Mithilā,⁹ and of slaughter houses¹⁰ and fishermen selling fish at other places.¹¹ Venison was sold at cross roads outside Bana-

¹ मृगं पतं पत्य तण्डुलाभ्य चतुभागं स्त्रीरस्ता अच्छरं सक्खराय, करण्डकम् मधुस्ता, एकज्ञव पचनभाजनं देहि ।

Sudhābhōjana J. No. 535.

J. I. 162, III. 205, Nisi IX. 511.

² *Kholas*

Brhak. Bha. I. 2882, 2892.

³ पिण्डए वा लोये वा खीरं वा दर्ढं वा सर्पिं वा नवणीजं वा तेले वा फाणियं वा पूर्वे वा सम्मुखीं वा तिहरिणी वा ।

Brhak. Su. I. 2.8.

Digh. Potthapāda Sutta 34, Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21. J. 123.277, Aca. II. 1, Nisi. VIII. 18.

⁴ Aca. II. 1.4.247.

⁵ जो भिक्खु रण्णे खतियाण जाव भिसीतापि सणिहि सणि वियाओ सीरं वा दहि वा नवणियं वा, सर्पिं वा, गुलं वा, संडं वा, सकारं वा मंछंदियं वा अण्यरं वा भोयणं जावं पठिगमहेहि ।

Nisi. VIII. 18.

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21.

⁶ नप्रथ गोधय मेषेण अवसेसं घयविहि पच्छक्षाति ।

Uva. I. 37.

Vin. Mv. VI. 33.21, Vin. Culla. IV. 45, J. 106, 130, 134, 186, 277, Nisi. III. 18.

⁷ *Sāga*—A preparation seasoned with butter milk such as *dabībāḍā* etc.

J. C. Jain, p. 123.

⁸ चतुप्पदम् सत्तुन्नज्ज्वापि मांसम् सूदेहि रुधं सुकटं सुनिदिळम् ।

सुधेव इन्दो परिमुञ्ज्जीयान् हिरण्या कथो इको रोमसी अरञ्जे ।

J. 537.

J. IV. 370, V. 489.

⁹ J. 408.

¹⁰ Vin. Mv. VI. 10, Vin. Culla. V. 104, J. V. 408, VI. 62, 546.

¹¹ नानामच्छमांसविकतिपरिवारभोजनम् सम्पादेत्वा योकं भोजनाति विवास्त्वा उमुमं पलायेत्तो अद्धासि ।

J. 292.

Ang. N. III. 301-303, J. 21, 34, 114.

ras¹ and there were some villages inhabited by hunters.² Then meat and fish are frequently mentioned with other eatables in the Buddhist works.³ Venison, pork and flesh of fowls seem to be very popular⁴ but flesh of oxen, *godbā* and birds was also used as food.⁵ Some people killed sheep, goats, poultry and swine in sacrifices⁶ but flesh of monkeys, pigeons and beef was also eaten.⁷ Kings killed many animals in hunting and enjoyed their flesh.⁸ Thus it seems that both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas had no objection to taking meat. We know that some ascetics lived on snippets of hides.⁹ We also learn from the Jain sources that many birds, fish and animals were killed and their flesh served on festive occasions.¹⁰ Some people even took beef and eggs.¹¹

¹ J. III. 49, V. 458, VI. 62.

² J. II. 182, IV. 252, 334, 337, 341, V. 41.

³ J. 339, 418, 436.

Mahāvagga (H) VI. 4.4.

⁴ Venison—J. 420.

Pork—Nyagrodha J. 12, Kumrga J. 21, J. 186.

Fowl—

सा कुम्कुटमांसञ्च भक्तञ्च सम्पदित्वा ।

J. 254.

Sri J. 248, Nyagrodha J. 444.

⁵ Oxen—J. 144.

Godbā—सिनिद्ध सम्भारयुतं अभिवलालम्बलम् गोधामांसम् ।

J. 138.

Birds—A captured bird cries 'what fate for one caught in a net except the cruel spit.'

कानू पासेन बद्धस्त गहरञ्जा महानसा ।

J. 33.

J. 537.

⁶ J. 50, J. 142, 489, 362.

⁷ Monkeys—Mahākapi. J. 402.

Pigeons—अथ इस्त्र एक दिवसं पञ्चन्त गामवासिनो पारापतमांस अमिसं खरित्वा अदंसु ।

J. 277.

Beef—Languṣṭha J. 144, Gahapati J. 199.

⁸ J. 537.

⁹ Kassapa Silhanāda J.

¹⁰ Sutra II. 18.21, Aca. II. 1.4 245, 247, Bhag. I. 8.46.

Uttara XII. 7, XIX. 64, Panna. I. 33, Vipaka. VIII. 46, 47, Vipaka. VIII. 10.

Suriyapannati. 51. p. 151.

¹¹ देवाणुषिया भमं काल घरि एहि गोवए हिंडो कल्ला कल्लि दुवे दुवे गोण पोयए उद्देहता भम उवगह ।

Uva. VIII. 12.

तएर्ण से सिरिए महाणसिए वहुण जलयर थलयर ख़इयर मंसाईं कप्पाणी कप्पियाईं करेद तं जहा सण्ह खडियाणिय बट्ठ दीह रहस्त हिमपक्काणिय कालाणिय हूरंगाणिय

We read also of ascetics who lived on the flesh of elephants.¹ In certain circumstances even the Jains, who are so particular about the protection of life, took meat. In the country of Sindhu many people lived on flesh diet.²

Flesh roasted on spits is frequently mentioned.³ Meat of sheep dressed with salt and pepper and fried in oil is mentioned in the Sūtra.⁴ Venison, partridges and fowls were roasted on live charcoal.⁵ Meat soup was also common.⁶ Ghee, curds and spices were used in cooking meat.⁷ The flesh of a Godbā dressed with spices and vinegar was considered a delicious dish.⁸ Meat cooked with rice seems to have been a favourite dish of the Brāhmaṇas.⁹ Sometimes a meat soup was prepared with

महिन्द्रणिय आमल रसियाणिया मुहिया कविट्ठा वालिमरसिया मच्छरस तलियाणिया, नजियाया, सोलिलया उबवस्तुडावैहता अण्णेय वहूदे मच्छरस एय, एणिज्ज रस एय, तितिर रस एय, जाव भयूर रस एय—द्वाण्णइ।

Vipaka. VIII. 10.

कुकड अंडे एय जलथललेचर भाईणअंडए कंदुमुय भज्जणाए सुय इग्गाले मुय तलिति भज्जंति सोलिलति।

Vipaka. III. 18.

Vipaka. VIII. 46.47, Uttara XXII. 14.

¹ Sūtra. II. 6, X. 92.

² Bhag. XV., Nisi. Cu. 134, at 16.

³ तुह पियाइ मंसाइ खण्डाइ सोलिलगणिय।

खावि ओमि संसाइ अन्नि वज्ञाइ घोगसो।

Uttara. XIX. 70.

C.f. Sūtra. II. 6.

दुस्स मे लेतपालस्य रत्तिभत्तम् अपा भत्तम्।

मांसमूला च द्वे गोधा एकञ्च दधि वारकम्।

J. 316.

⁴ J. 33, 539.

⁵ तितिरकुक्कुटादयो भारेत्वा मांसम् अंगारेसु पचित्वा।

J. 512.

C.f. Vipaka. II. 14, III. 22.

⁶ *Sāpa* or *Upastecana*

सो तेसम् सूप व्यञ्जनं त्याय।

J. I. 420.

यागु यो पचय भत्तानि पचय चूपानि सम्पादेय। उत्तरिभंगानि सम्पादेय इति।

Vin. Culla. VI. 4.1.

भत्तम् चुचिम् मांसुपसेचनम्।

J. 398.

⁷ सम्पिदधिकटुकभण्डादीनि।

J. I. 325.

C.f. J. I. 420.

⁸ सिनिद्ध संभारसूतम् अन्विलालम्बलम् गोधामांसम्।

J. 138.

⁹ J. 345, VI. 238.

Robita fish and eaten with great relish with *Sāli* rice.¹ There are many references to seasoned meat both in the Buddhist and Jain works.² Meat fried in oil and salted and spiced with pepper is frequently mentioned in the Jain literature.³ Some other preparations of meat are mentioned in the *Vipāka*, III. p. 46.⁴

The Buddhists did not believe that purity comes through food.⁵ It is stated that those who take life are at fault but not the persons who eat flesh.⁶ Meat and fish are invariably included in the eatables in the Buddhist works.⁷ Buddha preferred non-violence to violence.⁸ He condemned animal sacrifices,⁹ but he did not insist on his followers being strict vegetarians. He wanted to restrict the killing of animals,¹⁰ so he advised his followers not to take meat preparations if an animal or fish was killed expressly for them.¹¹ No follower of his was allowed to kill an animal for food in normal times¹² but meat of

¹ विज्ञ रोहितमच्छरसम् नवधतमिस्सकम् सालिभृतम्।

J. 292.

² J. III. 100, 378, VI. 62, *Vipaka*. II. 14, III. 22.

³ *Vipaka*. II. 14, III. 22, *Sutra*. II. 6, 19.

⁴ *Sankbandhiya*, *Vattakbandhiya*, *Dibakbandhiya*, *Rabassakbandhiya*, *Himapakka*, *Jammapakka*, *Vegapakka*, *Māruyapakka*, *Kāla*, *Heraṅga*, *Mabijha*.

Vipaka, III, p. 46.

⁵ *Vin. Mv.* I. 80.

⁶ *Suttanipāta* II. 2. 3-9, J. 246.

⁷ *Vin. IV.* 83, J. 339, 418, 436.

⁸ *Bhikkhu. Patimokkha* V. 61, *Samyutta*. III. 1.9.

⁹ न तेन अरियो होति येन पाणानि हिंसति।

अहिंसा सब्ब पाणानं अरियोति पवुच्छति।

Dhammapada. 270.

ततो च देवा पितरो इन्द्रो अमुर रक्षसा।

अधर्मो इति पवलन्दू य सत्त्वं निपत्ति गवे।

Sutta. Nipata. II. 7.27.

C.F. *Vin. Mv.* I. 56.

¹⁰ Even in this period, it appears that animals were not killed on Sabbath day (*Upasatha divasam*). J. 220, *Vin. III.* 58.

¹¹ न हि मिष्टवे जानम् उद्दिसकटम् मांस परिमुच्चिकतब्दम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 31.141.

Buddha considered *dṛṣṭa* (seen), *śrūta* (heard) and *pariśāñkita* (suspected) meat inedible.

Jivaka Suttānta. 55.2.1.5.

C.F. *Vin. Culla*. VII. 3.15, *Majjhima* (H) 55.

¹² न च मयं जीवित हेतुं पि

सञ्ज्ञिक्यं पाणं जिवितं बोरो पेम्याम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 31.

wild animals could be cooked in times of distress or in some extraordinary illness.¹

Jain monks did not accept any food article which involved *bimśā*.² It was for this reason that they always avoided taking meals at night.³ Jinadatta is said to have avoided meat preparations even when they were prescribed by a physician.⁴ But in extreme distress some of them had no objection to taking them.⁵

The Buddha and Mahāvīra impressed upon their followers the need of avoiding slaughter of animals and succeeded to such a great extent in changing the attitude of the people that even Brahmanical works such as the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛti* prescribe sacrifices where no slaughter of animals is involved.⁶

SWEETS

Honey was in common use.⁷ It had three varieties—of

¹ Vin. III. 58, Vin. *Mahavagga*. VI. 1.10, 23.10, 23.14.
पोत्यनिक गहेत्वा उद्धर्मासम् उक्तनित्वा दासिया अदासि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 23.3.

सो सूकर सूनम् गन्त्वा आमक मांसम् खादि आमक लोहितम् पिबि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 23.10.

Scholars are not unanimous about the meaning of the word *Sūkaramaddava*, the food article, which caused Buddha's death. But there seems to be greater likelihood that it was a fungus liable to poison the human body than boar's flesh.

(A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXIII).

² सेभिकल्प च सेजं मंसं व मञ्जं व भजिज्जमाणं पेहाए तिलपुर्यं व आए साए उवक्तव्य-जमाणं पेहाए नो साद्वं उव संकविनु ओ भा सिङ्गा नज्ञथ गिलाण णीसाए।

Aca. II. 1.3.

सातिलाओ शविदल कदाओ शतिरिच्छ चिछणाओ अव्वाच्छिणाओ तहणियं वा छिवाडि अणभिकत मभाभिज्जत पेहाए अफ्सुर्यं अण सणिज्जाति।

Aca. II. 1.525.

³ उद उल्लं वीय संसर्तं पाणा निब्बडिया महिँ।

दिया ताइ विवज्जेज्जा राष्ट्रो तस्थ कहुं चरे?

एम च वोसं ददहुर्यं नायपुत्तेण भासियं।

सबवाहारं न भुजेति निमंथा राइभोष्यं।

Dasa. VI. 25-26.

⁴ Av. Cu. II. p. 202, Sutra. II. 6.37.42.

⁵ Aca. Ti. II. 1.4.247, c.f. I. 9.274.

Bṛhatk. Bha. 1.12.39, Das v. Su. V. 1.73. Nisi. Cu. 16, p. 1034.

Mahāvīra himself is said to have taken the flesh of a pigeon. (Bhag. XV.)

⁶ This may also have led to a considerable improvement in the preparation of vegetarian dishes.

See B.C. Law, Mahāvīra, p. 55.

⁷ Vin. Mv. IV. 17, J. I. 154, 334.

small bees, of big bees and of a third variety called *Kuttiya*.¹ But sugarcane was the most important source of sweet ingredients.² Juice of sugarcane was also extracted with a machine and was used in plenty.³ Pundravardhana was noted for its sugarcane crop.⁴ We learn that flour and ashes of dried sugarcane were used in preparing *gula* from the juice of sugarcane.⁵ It was so important an article of food that even the Buddha included it among the food articles which he allowed to his followers.⁶ *Pāṇīta* and sugar were other important products of sugarcane which were in common use.⁷ Sugarcandy (*Matsyapādikā*) is also mentioned in the Jain canon.⁸

¹ Av. Cu. II. 319, Aca. II. 1.4, Uttara. XIX. 70.

² Vin. IV., Anguttara. III. 76, IV. 179, Milind. 46, Dhamma Ti. IV. 199, Petavattu Ti. 124, J. I. 339, IV. 114, 466, Uttara. Ti. II, p. 23.

³ J. I. 339, II. 240, IV. 160-61, VI. 539, Vin. Mv. VI. 35.6, Uttara. XIX. 53, Bhāskar Bha. Pi. 575, Bhag. XXI. 5.

⁴ Tandula Ti., p. 2(a).

There were two kinds of sugarcane *Puspura* (pale yellow) and *Kajali* (dark purple). The former gave its name to Pundrādēśa (Bengal to the east of the Ganges) and the latter to Kajolaka (Bengal to the west of the Ganges).

See Arch. Survey of India Report 1879-80, Bihar and Bengal Vol. XV, p. 38, quoted by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 91.

⁵ गुले पिट्ठमिष्य छारिकमिष्य पक्षिपन्ते ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 16.1.

J. I. 123, Av. Cu. II. 319, Vin. Mv. VI. 25-27.

Also see Appendix II.

⁶ इमानि लोपञ्च भेसज्जानि सेव्यवीदम् सूचिनवनीतम् तेलम् मधु काणितम् भेसज्जानि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 199.

The Buddha allowed *Gula* to sick persons and water of *Gula* to healthy persons.

Mahavagga (H) VI. 4.6.

C.f. Aca. II. 1.4.

⁷ *Pāṇīta*—See (6) above.

Vin. Mv. VI. 199.

अधमिकेतु तेलमधुकाणितादीनिषि वनमूलफलाफलानि पि अमधुरानि होन्ति निरोजानि ।

J. I. 334.

C.f. Vin. II. 177, Digh. I. 1.41, Vimana. 35-40, J. I. 340, 386, Aca. II. 1.4.

Sarkara

सूचिना सार्धम् सख्चरचुणम् यावदत्थम् खादित्वा ।

J. I. 442.

C.f. J. I. 154, III. 110, IV. 114, 379, V. 384, Naya. XVII. 203, Panna. XVII. 227.

⁸ जो भिन्नतू रणो खतियाणं खीरं वा दाहि वा नवणियं वा सूप्यं वा गुलं वा खंडं वा सकरं वा मछिदियं वा अण्णतरं वा भोजणं जावं पदिग्नहैऽ ।

Nisi. VIII. 18.

C.f. Naya. XVII. 203, Panna. XVII. 227.

Of the sweet preparations sweet fried rice (*Madbulāja*) and sweet balls (*Madbugolaka* or *Modaka*) were in common use.¹ In the Jain works we come across some fine sweets such as *Mandaka* (cakes stuffed with molasses and ghee), *Madbusīrṣaka* (also a kind of sweet cake), *Gulalāvaniya*, *Ghayapunna* (the modern *ghewara*), *Sibakssara* and *Morāṇdaka* (sweets prepared from inspissated milk and shaped like the eggs of peacock)². Some of these may however, be later preparations as they are not mentioned in the early Jain canon nor in the contemporary Brahmanical or Buddhist literature.

SALTS, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

The Vinaya Piṭaka mentions five varieties of salts—sea salt, black salt, rock salt, kitchen salt and red salt.³ Sea salt was prepared by boiling sea water.⁴ The Jain works mention two other varieties—*Sauvarcala* and *Pāṇisukṣāra* (earth salt).⁵ Other spices used in seasoning food were pepper, long pepper, cumin, asafoetida, myrobalan, dry ginger and turmeric.⁶ Mus-

¹ *Madbulāja*—See p. 59, f. n. 6 above.

Madbugolaka—Vin. Mv. I. 43, VI. 25.3.

² *Mandaka*—Nisi Cu. II, p. 695.

Madbusīrṣaka—Mmk. 48.8.

Gulalāvaniya—Golpāpadi in Gujrati.
(see J.C. Jain, p. 123).

Ghayapunna—

घयपुणोहि संदलज्जेहि वा अवसेसं भक्षणविर्हि पच्चवक्षाति।

Uva. I. 34.

Sibakssara—Antagadodasao, p. 10.

Morāṇdaka—Bṛhatk. Bha. I. 3281.

³ Vin. Mv. VI. 8.

⁴ *Lopakāra*—J. VI. 206.

Storing salt in a horn vessel was not permissible.

Vin. Culla. XII. 1.1.

⁵ Daśavaikalika. Su. III. 8.

⁶ Long pepper (*pippali*).

पिप्पलि वा, पिप्पलित्युष्णवा, मिरिय वा, मिरियचुञ्चं वा सिगबेरचुञ्चं वा पडिगाहिज्जा।

Aca. 602.

Cf. Vin. Mv. VI. 6, J. I. 325, Jiva. III. 37.

Pepper (*marica*)

तण्डुलसप्तिदधिजीरकमरिचादीनि आहारेत्वा।

J. 277.

तं परिचारेत्वा हरीतकी आमलकी मरिचमच्छो च आहोसि।

J. 512.

J. 325, 455, 512, 277, Vin. I, 201, Vin. Mv. VI. 6, Aca. II. 1, 8, 268,

tard and cloves were also used.¹ Some condiments were also used as the word *Vyanjana* is frequently mentioned.² A dish prepared with fruits is called *Sāḍava* in the Vinaya Piṭaka.³ Vinegar and sour gruel were in common use.⁴ Some delicacies of food were taken after the meals and are called *Uttaribbhangam*.⁵

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Of the oilseeds sesamum was the most important article of food.⁶ Cakes of *tila* seed (*Saskuli*) were very much liked.⁷ Some of the monks were so fond of cakes prepared with sesamum that once a Buddhist monk specially requested a householder for it and had to express his regret for doing so in the assembly of monks.⁸ Sesamum powder and sesamum *Parpatis* were also

Cumin (*Jiraka*)—

सिंगिवेर जीरकादीनि पिसित्वा ।

J. I. 274.

J. I. 244, 274, 42, II. 363, 225, V. 12, VI. 536, Pinda Nir. 54.

Dryginger (*Sragavera*)—

अनुजानामि चिक्खवे मूलानि भेसज्जानि हृलिहम् सिंगिवेरम् वचम् वचत्यम् अतिविसम् कटुकरोहिणिम् उशीरम् भद्रमुत्तकम् ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 201.

J. I. 274, 375, 42, Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Bhag. VIII. 3, Panna. I. 23-31, 43-44.
Asafoetida (*Hing*)—Vin. Mv. VI. 7, Vin. I. 201.

Turmeric (*Hariśā*)—Vin. Mv. VI. 3, Vin. I. 201, Anguttara. III. 230, 233, J. V. 89. Majjhima I. 127, Samyutta. II. 101, Pinda Nir. 54.

¹ Mustard (*Sarsoja*)

भत्ताकारको देवेन मन्त्वा अल्लसिंगिवेरञ्च सिद्धरथके च पिसित्वा पूति तवकेन महित्वा ।

J. 375.

Aca. II. 1.8.268.

Cloves (*Lavanga*)—Pinda Nir. 54.

² Vin. Mv. VI. 33, 17, Vin. Culla. VI. 4.1, VIII. 4.3, Anguttara. III. 49, Vin. II. 214, J. 42, 212.

³ Vin. IV. 2.59.

⁴ Vinegar (*asubila*)—J. I. 244, 304, II. 263, III. 225, IV. 2.1.

Sourgruel (*Kāñjikā*)—Vin. I. 203. It is also called *Sovīraka*, Vin. I. 210, Samyutta II. 3, J. 254, J. 42.

उदरवाता बाधो होति सो लोण सोवीरकम् अपाधि ।

Vin. Mv. VI. 16.3.

⁵ Vin. II. 214, III. 160, IV. 259, Culla (H) IV. 2.1, VIII. 2.2.

⁶ Vin. Mv. VI. 16.33, Samyutta. I. 170, Anguttara I. 130, IV. 108, J. 167, 195, 423, II. 248-49, 301, 325, III. 425, 503, 537, 53, VI. 325, J. 546, Vin. Mv. VI. 34, Culla. IV. 45, I. 183, Therā Ga. I. 927., Brhatk. II. 1, Bhag. XXI. 2, Sutra. II.2, Nisi. III. 18, Brhatk. Bha. I. 828, Panna. I. 23-40, Aca. II. 1.527.

⁷ Culla. I. 183, J. 346. Dhammapada Ti. II. 7.3, Aca. I. 15. 132.

⁸ Culla. I. 183.

used.¹ Sesamum oil was used by poor people.² Mustard and its powder were also used.³ Its oil may also have been used. Oil was also extracted from castor seed, linseed and safflower.⁴ Oil cake was also used as a food article by some ascetics.⁵ Besides vegetable oils, animal fats were also used as food. The Buddha himself allowed to the monks the use of the fats of a bear, a fish, an alligator, a pig and an ass in case of illness.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The Buddha allowed his followers to eat fruits and appointed a distributor of fruits.⁷ Four methods of ripening green fruit, described in Jain canon, were covering them with straw, heating them, mixing them with ripe fruit and allowing them to ripen on the tree.⁸

Some of the common fruits were jujube, mango, rose apple, bread fruit, *Sṛṅgātaka* (*trapabispinosa*), *Āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan), plantain, cocoanut, dates, *Bilva*, palm fruit, *Priyāla*, *Kapittha*, *Tinduka* (*Disspyros Embryopeltres*), grapes, *Parīṣaka*, *Karamarda* (*carissa carandes Linn.*) and citrus.⁹

¹ *Tilapittha* and *Tilapappoda*—Aca. II. 1.527.

² Culla. IV. 45., J. I. 340, 325, Vin. Mv. VI. 16, VI. 34.21.

³ *Sarṣapa Suttanipāta* 625, 631, p. 122, Dhamma. I. 93. Samyutta II. 137, J. VI. 174, 536.

Sarṣapakutta—Vin. I. 205, II. 151.

⁴ *Eragrada* (castor seed) J. I. 109, 423, II. 44, V. 354, 417, VI. 529.
Atasi (Linseed)—Bhag. XXI.

Kusumumba (Safflower)—J.C. Jain, p. 91.

⁵ S.B.B. V., p. 10 (Kassapasihanādasutta).

⁶ अनुजानामि भिक्षवे वसानि भेसज्जानि अच्छब्दवसम् मच्छब्दवसम् सुसकावसम् सूकरवसम् गद्रभवसम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 1.2.

⁷ अनुजानामि भिक्षवे अबीजं निष्पत्तदीजं अकर्तकार्यं कर्त्त वरिभुव्यज्जतुम्।

Vin. Mv. VI. 21.

The Buddha allowed five kinds of fruits e.g. mango fruits the skin of which had been removed by fire, of which the skin had been removed with a knife or nails, one without a kernal stone, and one having a kernal stone.

Culla. V. 7.3.

Culla. (H) VI. 6.7.

⁸ Jagdish Chandra Jain, p. 93.

⁹ Jujube—J. II. 260, 547, S.B.B. V. 56

Mango—

अम्बवनेन एव अम्बवनम् जम्बुवनेन जम्बुवनम्, लबुजवनेन एव लबुजवनम्, नालिकेरसज्जादियेन नालिकेरसज्जादियम्।

J. 537.

We know from the Buddhist works that vegetables were

तस्मिन् पन दीपके सबजातानि राशिउच्छुकदलिश्वरम्बूपनसनालिकेरादीनि
विविधानि फलाफलानि अस्ति ।

J. 466.

अंबसरहुयं वा, कविट्ठसरहुयं वा, दाढिसरहुयं वा, बिलसरहुयं वा.....
पडिगाहिज्जा ।

Aca. 605.

J. I. 54, 124, 344, 186, 255, 545, III. 98, IV. 264, 265, Das. Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 23.12.7, Aca. II. 1.8.266, Tha. X. 736, Raya. III. 12.

Rose Apple (*Jambū*)—J. 124, 294, 536, 541, IV. 545, VI. 529, Das. Bra. J. 495, Panna. I. 1-3.

Panata (Bread fruit)—J. 57, 123, 466, 450, II. 160, V. 46, J. 547, Panna. I. 23.12.7, Aca. II. 1.8.266, Tha. X. 736.

अम्बा कपित्या पनसा साला जम्भु विभीतका हरीतका आमलका असत्या बद्रानि च
चार तिष्ठ रुक्षा च एत्व निप्रोधा च कपित्यना मधु मधुका येवत्ति नीचे पक्कवा च उद्गम्बरा
मुहिका च मधुरिका मधु मनेलकम् दोविला भेकवणा तद्भयम् विभेदिका नालिकेर खजुरी-
नाम् बंहूवने ।

J. 547.

Srāgajaka (*Trapabispinosa*)

उच्छु मेरगं वा अंकं करेलुयं वा कसेरगं वा सिंघाडगं वा पूति आलुगं वा.....
पडिगाहिज्जा ।

Aca. II. 3.3. 350.

Āmalakā (emblic myrobalan)—J. I. 450, II. 160, V. 465, J. 495, 512,
Vin. Mv. I. 20.10, Vin. I. 201, 278, Panna. I. 23. 12-17, Aca. II. 1.8. 266, Tha.
X. 736.

Kadali (plantain)—J. 466, 514, Panna. I. 23. 12-17, Aca. II. 1.8. 266,
Tha. X. 736.

Cocoanut (*Nālikera*)—J. 466, 514, 537, 547, Sutra. I. 44.Dates (*Kharjūra*)—J. 547.

Bilva—J. I. 306, 495, VI. 578, Samyutta. I. 150, Sutta. N. 125, Angut-
tara. IV. 170, Apādana. III. 346.

Palm fruit (*Tāla*)—J. 160, IV. 158.

Prīyāda—J. 495.

तिण्डकानि पियालानि मधुके कासुमारियो ।

फलानि खुद्दकप्पानि भुज्ज राजा वरम् वरम् ।

J. 503.

Tinduka—J. 177, 495, 541, II. 53, IV. 270, V. 38, Digh. I. 178, V.
99., Aca. 613.

See above. J. 503.

Grapes (*Drākṣā*)—J. 547, 183.

Parājaka—Vin. I. 246, J. VI. 278.

Karamarda—J. 455, VI. 536.

Citrus (*Māhūlīṅga*)

कविट्ठ मार्दलिंगं च मूलगं मूल गतिं ।२५।

तहेव फलमयूणि वीयमयूणि जाणिया ।

विहूलगं पियालं च आमगं परिवज्जए ।२६।

Daśavaikālika V. 2. 25-26.

sold at the gates of Uttara Pāñcāla.¹ The Buddha himself allowed leafy vegetables to his followers.² Stalks and roots of lotus, long bottle gourd, brinjal, cucumber, radish, catmint and mustard stalks were eaten as vegetables.³ The use of garlic and leeks is prohibited because the foul smell deprived the eater of garlic of the company of others. But the Buddhist monks were allowed to use it in case of illness.⁴

Some other fruits are mentioned.

C.f. Panna. I. 1-3.

Nyagrodha—J. I. 298, 324.

Kāshmīrya—J. 503, 540.

Lakusa—J. 495.

Āmrātaka—J. II. 111, Apādāna. II. 346, Panna. I. 1-3.

Kapittha (wood apple)—J. I. 298, VI. 550, 553, J. 547, 529.

Udumbara—Digh. II. 4, IV. 35, Ānguttara IV. 283, J. I. 298, III. 73, 294, VI. 174, 529, 251.

Pomegranate (*Dādima*)—Panna. I. 1-3, Aca. 605.

¹ J. I. 139.

² Mahāvagga. (H) VI. 6.8, Vin. Mv. VI. 35.

³ Stalks of lotus (*Bisa*)—Aca. II. 1.7.

Roots of lotus (*Sālikka*)—Aca. II. 1.7, J.I. 79, 96, Vin. I. 246, J. VI. 563.

Mustard stalks—Aca. II. 1.7.

Long bottle gourd (*alabhi*)—J. I. 3. 12, IV. 443, V. 37 VI. 578, Sutra. I. 4.4, Naya. XVI. 163, Uttara Ti. V. 103.

Brinjal—Panna. I. 23, 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Bhag. XXI. 7, Uttara XXXVI. 96, Aca. II. 3.3-350, J. V. 37.

Cucumber—Panna. I. 23.18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Uttara XXXVI. 96.

Radish—Ibid.

Catmint (*Biḍḍi*)

खण्नन्त आलु कलम्बानि बिडालि तकलाणि घुग्रम् सामाकनीवारम् संधारियम् पसारियम् साकं भिसं मधुं मोत्सं बदरामलकानि च तानि आभद्रा भुज्जामि अथिं मे सो परिग्नहो।

J. 496.

Other vegetables used as food were *Pindālu*, *Āluka*, *Elāluka* (convolvulus), *Kadamba* (convolvulus repins), *Bidārikanda*, *Kāravella*, *Pōlaka*, *Svastika* and *Maṇḍūkī*. The last three are leafy vegetables.

Panna. I. 23. 18-19, 26, 37, 38, 43, Uttara XXXVI. 96.

वद्यु साएण वा, सुरियम् साएण वा मेंडूकिय साएण वा अवसेसं सागविहि पच्चक्षाति।

Uva. I. 38.

पालुका माधुर एण अवसेसं माहुरय विहि पच्चक्षाति।

Uva. I. 39.

⁴ Some Buddhist nuns are said to have pulled out practically all the onions from a field. This shows that some of them were very fond of onions.

(J. 136.)

Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha. Pacittiya (H) 4.1., Culla. (H) V. 6.4.

Garlic (*lasuna*)

या पन भिक्षुनी लसुणम् खादेय पाचित्यियम्।

Vin. IV. 259.

Vin. II. 140, IV. 258, Culla. V. 6.4., Aca. II. 3.3-350.

Leeks—Vin. IV. 259.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the Buddhist and Jain works we learn that liquor was manufactured and consumed on a large scale.¹ Taverns and drinking shops are frequently mentioned.² At the time of festivals, feasting and drinking were resorted to and friends were invited.³ It is stated that Cāṇḍa Pajjota drank for three days continuously when Vatsarāja Udayana was brought alive.⁴ Jain sources also mention drinking to excess. King Duvaya is said to have entertained the members of a marriage party with many kinds of liquors and wines.⁵ From the Jātakas we learn that even women and hermits drank hard on some occasions.⁶

But people were well acquainted with the evils of drinking.⁷ The princes of Baravai, it is stated, were ruined because they were addicted to drinking Kādambarī wine.⁸ Even dealing in strong liquors is forbidden.⁹ The Buddha and Mahāvīra did not allow their followers especially monks indulgence in wines.¹⁰ The Jain canon does not even permit monks to reside at a place

¹ J. I. 116, 251, 268, V. 12, VI. 328, J. 545, VI. 505, Bhāṭk. I. 2.4. Uttara XIX. 70, Bhāg. V. 2.8, Vipaka. II. 19, Nisi. Cu. I. 511.

² J. I. 116, 251, 268, VI. 328, 545.

Flags were used to distinguish liquor shops from other shops. Bhāṭk. Bhā. II. 35.39.

³ J. 142, I. 362, II. 240, VI. 161, J. 545, VI. 238.

⁴ Dharmapada Āṭhakathā. I. 193.

⁵ Naya. 16, p. 179.

⁶ Surāpāna. J. 81, J. 572.

⁷ Surāpāna. J., Kumbha. J.

⁸ Uttara. Ti. 2, p. 36 a.

⁹ Anguttara. III. 208.

¹⁰ सुरामेरयपानब्द्वयो नरो अनुयूज्यति।

इधेवमेत्यो लोकस्मिं मूलं खनति अतानो।

Dhammapada, p. 247.

सुरामेरयपाने पाचित्यन्ति।

Bhikkhu Patimokha. V. 51.

Cf. Vin. Mv. I.56, Anguttara III. 7.70.

तुहं पिया सुरा सीहू मेर आद्य महूणिय।

पञ्जिब्रोमि जलं तीझो वसा हहिराणि च।

Uttara. XIX. 71.

हिसे बाले मुसा वाई माइले पिसुणे सळे।

भुजमाणे सुरं मंसं सेथ मेवं निमज्जई।

Uttara. V. 9.

जे मज्ज मंस लसणं च भोज्या। अनत्य वासं परिकण्यंति।

Sutra. I. 7.13.

Cf. Jiva. III. 37, Naya. XVI. 105.

where jars of wine are stored.¹ But both the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were allowed to use wine in cases of illness.²

Strong liquors are called *Madya* but the general word for all kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals is *Surā*.³ The Vinaya, mentions five kinds of *surā*—prepared from rice meal, from cakes, from boiled rice, from ferment and with spices.⁴ *Maireya* (spiced wine) seems to be very popular at this time.⁵ *Vārunī* (a strong liquor), the wine prepared from *Madhuṇika* flowers (*Basia Latifolia*), *Prasannā* (a variety of *surā*) and *Sidbu* (prepared with the juice of sugarcane) were other intoxicating drinks in use.⁶ From the Jain canon we learn that liquors prepared from palm fruit, *Jāti* flowers, *Kadamba* fruit were also used.⁷ A

¹ Brāhkt. IX. 17.

² Vin. Mahavagga. VI. 1.16, Brāhkt. Bha. II. 3413, Naya. V. 80.

³ Patimokkha. 21, Dhammapada 247, J. 466, Naya XVI. 179.

⁴ सुरा नाम पिठ्ठसुरा, पूवसुरा ओदनसुरा किण्णपक्षिक्ता संभारसंयुता मेरेय नाम पुष्कासब कलासबो मध्वासबो गुडासबो संभार संयुतो ।

Vin. IV. 110.

⁵ नो सुरा उच्छुरेण मेरयम् कृत्वा पिविस्साम ।

J. 466.

C.f. Dhammapada. 247, Patimokkha. 51.

See Ch. IV. for the preparation of *Maireya*.

मुरं च महुं च मेरयं च जाईं च सिधुं च पसण्णं च ।

Vipaka. para. 40.

सुरा मेरय पानक्त्व यो नरो अनुयुज्जति ।

दुष्टेवमेसो लोकस्मिं मूलं खनति अतनो ।

Dhammapada. 247.

सुरं वा मेरयं वा विअनं वा मज्जगं रसम् ।

स ताक्तं न पिबे भिक्षु जसा सारक्तं मध्यणो ।

Daśavaikālika. V. 2.38.

⁶ *Vārunī*—

या तालसर्जुरसे आसूता सा हि वारणी ।

Dravya Guṇa Vijñana. II, p. 33.

J. I. 47, Jiva. III. 37.

Mādhavī (from *Madhuṇika* flowers)—Av. Cu. II. 171.

Prasannā—for preparation see Ch. IV.

Naya. XVI. 105, Vipak. para. 40.

Sidbu (distilled from juice of sugarcane) Uttara. XIX. 70, Naya. XVI. 105, Vipak. para. 40.

⁷ *Talakka* (a wine prepared from the palm fruit), *Jambū*, XX. 99, Jiva. III. 264, Panna. XVII. 364.

Jāti (an intoxicating drink from *Jāti* flowers) Vipaka. II. 19.

Kadambārī (distilled from ripe kadamba fruit) Uttaradhyayana. Ti. II. 36.

strong intoxicating drink which did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times, is called *Satau*.¹ Some other varieties are also mentioned.²

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Cool water brought from mountain springs was used for drinking purposes.³ Buddhists used eight kinds of strainers to purify drinking water as they were not allowed to drink water full of insects.⁴ The Jains regard rainwater as the best⁵ but water of springs, frost, wells, tanks and dewdrops was also used for drinking.⁶

In this period many syrups were prepared from fruits etc. The Buddha allowed eight kinds of beverages to his followers. Syrups were prepared with ripe mango juice, rose apple, plantain fruit, grapes, edible root of waterlily, honey, *Parīṣaka* fruit and cocoanut.⁷ Sometimes syrups prepared with *guḍa* and

बहुरं जवर गोरुबाणं सोलेहिय, तलिए हिय, भज्जए हिय, परिसुक्केहिय, तावणहिय सुरं च महूं च मेगरं च जाइं च सिंहं च पसर्णं च।

Vipaka. para. 40.

¹ J.C. Jain, p. 125. *Jambu*, 20, p. 99 fr. *Jiva* 3, pp. 264a f.
Panna, 17, p. 364 f.

² *Chandraprabhā*, *Mapisilāka*, *Rstabba*, *Janibūphala*, *Kālikā*, *Dugdabjoti*, *Mydvikāsāra*, *Vamśi*, *Sovira*, *Kharjūrasāra* and *Supakekṣurasa*.

(J. C. Jain, p. 125).

³ अतिथि मे पानीयम् सीतम् आभद्रम् निरिगच्छमा।

ततो पिब महाराज स च त्वं अभिहृत्वसीति।

J. 540.

⁴ *Bhikkhu Patimokkha* (H) V. 20 and 62.

The Buddha also allowed the use of some stands made of wood, stone or bricks for keeping water jars.

Culla. (H) V. 2.4.

यो पन निकलु जानम् सप्याणकम् उदकम् परिमुञ्जेय परिचित्यम्।

Pac. XX. 62.

Of the eight kinds of strainers the *Dayda parissarava* was a long box, both ends of which strained water which was poured into the centre by means of a pipe. The other strainers were a filter with four pipes (*Ottanika*), regulation water pots (*dbammakaraka*), corner of the upper robe, cross seams, short cross seams, circular seams, and short circular seams. (Vin. III. 102, III. 177, 302, *Culla*. XIII. 2., *Vin. Mv.* VIII.).

⁵ अंतलिक्षोदण्ण अवसेसं पाणिविर्हि पच्चक्षाति।

Uva. I. 42.

⁶ *Aca*. I. 13. 108.

⁷ अनुजानामि निकल्ये अट्ठ पानानि : अन्वपानम् जम्बुपानम् चौचपानम् मोचपानम् मधुपानम् मुद्रिकापानम् सालुकपानम् फालसकपानम्।

Vin. I. 246.

sugar were also used.¹ All these beverages were used in the evening as the followers of the Buddha did not take their meals in the evening.² The Jain works mention some other syrups such as those prepared from dates, pomegranates, green bamboos, jujube, myrobalans and tamarind.³

The Jain monks were not permitted to drink water used for washing rice, sesamum, chaff, or barley as also that used for preparing dough. Sour gruel was also not allowed to them.⁴

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The Buddhists, generally had a separate dining room and a store house for food stuffs.⁵ Food was also available on the shops in the market.⁶ The rich no doubt had their expert cooks. The Buddha appointed a separate officer to distribute food.⁷ The art of cooking was so developed that it is considered one of the twenty five prominent occupations of the period.⁸ Eighteen kinds of solid foods are referred to in a Jātaka,⁹ and the process of flavouring cooked preparations with cumin and asafoc-tida (*Dhūpana*) was well known.¹⁰ The Jain sources mention eighteen kinds of seasoned foods (*Vyanjana*)¹¹ and a number of

¹ *Gñodaka*—Vin. Mv. VI. 27.

Sakkharapānaka

दाजा अम्बानं तच्च अपनेत्वा सक्षरं पक्षिपित्वा सवम् एव महित्वा थेरस्य पत्तम् पूरेत्वा अदासि।

C.F. J. 476.

J. I. 281.

² Vin. Mv. VI. 6.6, Digh. Part. I. p. 5, (Bhāgavata).

³ अंबपाणगं वा, अंबाडगपाणगं वा, कविट्ठपाणगं वा, भारुलिगपाणगं वा, मुहियपाणगं वा, दाडिमपाणगं वा, खज्जूरपाणगं वा, णालिएरपाणगं वा, करीरपाणगं वा, आमलगपाणगं वा, चिचापाणगं वा, अणयरं वा तहृपगारंपाणगजायं सकणुयं पैड गाहिज्जा।

Aca. I. 599.

⁴ से भिक्खू वा जाव समाजे से जं पुण धाणग जायं जाणिज्जा, तं जहा तिलोदां वा, तुलोदां वा, जबोदां वा, आयामं वा, सोवीरं वा, सुद्रवियडंवा, अस्सि खलु पडिन्नाहि यंसि अप्पे पच्छा कम्मे तहैव पडिमाहिज्जा।

Aca. I. 642.

⁵ *Upasthānakālā* (a dining room)—Cull. Sensanakkhandhva VI.

Kappabbāni (a store house)—J. 545.

⁶ *Odaniyagbara* (shop of a cook)—J. 545, J. III. 287, V. 290, VI. 276, V. 170.

⁷ *Khajabbājaka* (a distributor of food)—Vin. II. 176, III. 38, 155.

⁸ *Ajātasatru* mentioned it to the Buddha.

⁹ J. 26, J. I., p. 186.

¹⁰ *Dhūpīta*. (Vv. 43.)

¹¹ The eighteen kinds of *Vyanjana* are :—

1. *Śūpa* (pulse soup), 2. *Odana* (boiled rice), 3-5. Three kinds of meat, 6. Cow's milk, 7. *Jūsa* (water of boiled pulses), 8. *Bhakkha* sweets, 9. *Gulalāvanīya* (gol pāphadī etc.), 10. *Milaphala* (bread fruit), 11. *Hari-*

sweets such as *ghṛtāpūra*, *khajakas* and *Mandakas*¹ and saline preparations such as small round balls prepared with pulses and *parpatas*.² The preparation of all these delicacies shows a high stage of development in the culinary art.

Buddhist monks generally used utensils made of copper, wood or clay.³ Utensils made of gold, silver and precious stones were used only by the rich, while the common people used copper, wooden, or skin vessels and the poor used only leaf pots and earthenware.⁴ When earthen vessels were broken the Buddhist monks were allowed water vessels of three kinds—brass pots, wooden pots and skins.⁵ In the Cullavagga it is considered improper to store salt in a horn vessel because by keeping salt in a hollow horn the Buddhist monks acquired a possession.⁶

The common implements used by the Buddhist monks were a water jar, a drinking cup, a water bag, a basket, a cooking pot and a pan.⁷ A round tub like vessel for keeping soft food

yūga (Cumin), 12. *Sāga* (vegetables), 13. *Rasālu* (*Sikkharīni*) 14. *Pāna* (drinks)
15. *Pāniya* (water), 16. *Pānaka* (beverages), 17. *Sāga* (*dābhārī*)

Tha. III. 135.

J.C. Jain, p. 123.

Cooked food is classified into four categories—well dressed food in general (*Subhartam*), well cooked food (*upakram*) such as *Ghṛtāpūra*, flavoured food (*Subhartam*) such as soup and *Yavāgū* and much sweetened food such as *Modakas*.

¹ See p. 60, f. n. 4, p. 69, f. n. (1) and (2) above.

² See p. 62, f. n. 2.

³ Culla (H) V. 1.10., Culla. (H) V. 74.

⁴ कच्चन तटुके मधुसाजे समसरोदकाच्च दाषेत्वा।

J. 476.

Culla. (H) V. 1.10, c.f. Naya. Ti. I. 42(a) I. 26.

Culla. V. 16, Uva. XXXVIII. 173.

Pannapūta (leaf pots)—J. I. 415.

Eighteen kinds of utensils—such as those made of iron, copper, lead, bronze, silver, gold, precious stones, ivory, horns, cloth, leather, stone and conchshell are mentioned in Nisi, IX. 1.

⁵ Culla. V. 16.2.

⁶ Culla. XII. 1.1.

⁷ *Bhrigūra* (water jar)—Digh. II. 172, Anguttara. IV. 210, J. I. 266, Uva. XXXVIII. 173.

Saraka (drinking cup)—J. I. 157, 266, J. 125.

Thāvika (a water bag)—Culla. V. 9. 1-4.

Pitaka (a basket)—Vin. Mv. VI. 25.

Kumbhi (a cooking pot)—Vin. Mv. VI. 25, Ghāṭikārasutta. 81.

Tattaka (a dish)—J. 476.

Pariyoga (a dish)—Ghāṭikārasutta. 81.

Kaḍapiya (a pan)—J. 268.

was called *Ālindā* and a basket for keeping solid food *gopitaka*.¹ A cover for alms bowl was called *Piṇḍopadbāna*.² In the Jain works we also have such implements as a knife, a sieve, a mortar, big and small jars, kettle for cooking, tumbler and jars having necks like that of a camel.³ The earliest reference to a spittoon is found in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinayapitaka*.⁴

RULES OF DIRT AND ETIQUETTE

The Buddhist works lay down hospitality as a duty and state that alms giving cleanses the mind from the dirt of the sins of selfishness and cupidity.⁵ Wherever the Buddha went the laity were anxious to feed the whole order.⁶ The Jains clearly advocate that even a *Cāndāla* guest should be fed with honour.⁷

Both the Buddhists and the Jains were very particular about the purity of food. The Buddha allowed food to his followers only when they had cleaned their teeth with a tooth stick.⁸ They are not permitted to drink water before it is cleaned by a strainer.⁹ The Jains were not expected to take any fruit or

¹ *Ālindā*—Vin. Mv. III. 15.9, Uva. VII. 4.

G opitaka—Vin. Mv. III. 15.9.

² M.S.V. I. 84.2.

³ *Satiṣa* (a knife)—Sutra, I. 4.10.

Snप्यान् (a kettle for cooking)—Sutra, I. 4.12.

Khalaya (a sieve)—Ibid.

Khāragālaya (a mortar)—Ibid.

The Uva. VII. 4 mentions *Karas* (small jars), *Varas* (big jars), *pibadas* (cooking pots), *ghoṭas* (water jars), *Adbagbhoṭas* (half water jars), *Kalasas* (jars), *Aliñjara*, *Jambus* (tumblers), *Uttibhya* (jars having necks like those of camels).

⁴ Vinayapitaka Ed. by H. Oldenberg 1879, Vol. I, p. 271.

Also see 'History of the Spittoon in India' by Dr. P. K. Gode, A.B.O.R.I., Vol. XXVI. Parts III & IV, pp. 204-214.

⁵ S.B.B. I. 3, XIII. 38.

⁶ Digh. (H) 30 Lakkhaṇa Sutta.

Generally the invitation to Bhikkhus was issued on the previous day. Majjhima (H) 33.

Supriyā, a follower of the Buddha, is said to have cut off the flesh of her own thigh to save the life of an ailing Bhikkhu when it could not be had it being a holiday in the meat market in Banaras. This shows that the spirit of hospitality had become a part and parcel of Indian social life.

पोत्यनिक गहेत्वा उर्मासम् उचक्षितव्या दासिवा अदासि।

Vin. Mv. VI. 13.3.

⁷ Uttara. XII.

⁸ Culla. V. 5. (Hindi).

⁹ See p. 76, f. n. (4) above, Pac. XX. 62.

vegetable before they had fully satisfied themselves that it did not contain any living being.¹ For the same reason eating food at night is condemned.² Both the Jains and the Buddhists did not believe that food was defiled by the touch of a person if he was born in a low caste.³ Whosoever be the giver they were expected to accept and eat their food with respect,⁴ even if it be coarse food.⁵

The Buddha laid great emphasis on eating food obtained by lawful means. According to him the leavings of a householder or a dog were better than food obtained by unlawful means.⁶ A monk was not allowed to dine with the order if he committed a sin.⁷ We learn from the Jātakas that Brāhmaṇas had no objection to taking food with Kṣatriyas but they generally avoided the leavings of others and if they did not do so they were excommunicated.⁸ A Brāhmaṇa repents for eating the food of a Cāndāla,⁹ and a Kṣatriya refuses to dine with his own daughter because she was born of a Sūdra wife.¹⁰ Brāhmaṇas are excommunicated for using water mixed with the rice which the Cāndāla had used.¹¹ In the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra there is a story stating that Brāhmaṇas refused to give food to a Cāndāla ascetic.¹²

The Buddha laid down several rules to see that his followers practised moderation in food. They were not allowed to take midday meal in the afternoon.¹³ No monk was allowed to take

¹ Nisi. IV. 21.

² See p. 67, f. n. 3 above.

³ See p. 79, f. n. 8 above.

⁴ Bhikkhu Patimokkha. VII. 27, 31, Bhikkhu Patimokkha. (H) VI, 27 and 31.

⁵ Bhikkhuni Patimokkha. IV. 30.

⁶ न चापि मे सीवाली सो अपक्षते

य होति चतम् गिहिनो सुन खस्स वा

ये के चि भोगा इथ भग लदा

सन्धो भक्षो अपवज्जोति बुतोति ।

⁷ Culla. I. 5.6.

⁸ J. II. 319-20, J. 179, IV. 388.

⁹ J. II. 82.

¹⁰ J. IV. 144.

¹¹ J. IV. 388.

¹² Uttara. XII.

¹³ Culla. XII. 1.1, S.B.B. V. p. 333, Bhikkhu Patimokkha., Mahavagga (H) VI. 6.12.

quantity of food more than what was necessary to sustain life.¹ They were not allowed to store food in ordinary times.² But some food stuffs, which were given to the convelescent monks as tonics such as ghee, butter, honey, oil and sugar, could be preserved for a week.³ At a time the monk could not accept more than three bowls of food.⁴ The Jains also insist on eating as much food as is necessary to sustain life,⁵ and believe that the body is purified by keeping fasts.⁶

Some idea of the food of children can be had from a Jātaka.⁷ The food of the students consisted chiefly of rice and rice gruel. On being invited to dinners, however, they were served with sugar, jaggery, curds and milk.⁸ They were expected to avoid rich food (*Prapita*) as it did not suit their stage in life. They are advised to be moderate in eating and drinking.⁹

¹ Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 35-37., Majjhima (H) 39. (Mahaassapura).

² Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) V. 38., Mahavagga (H) VI. 5.1, Majjhima (H). 53.

³ Mahavagga. VI. 3.4.

C.f. चरत्विहे वि आहारे राई भोजण वज्जना।

सत्रिही संचओ चेय, वज्जे यव्वो मुदुकारम्।

Uttara. XIX. 30.

⁴ Culla. VII. 3.13, 34, Bhikkhu Patimokkha (H) VII. 29,30, (H) 36, Bhikkuni Patimokkha (H) VI. 29, 30, 36.

⁵ जहा दवनी पड़रिन्धणे वणे समाक्षी नोवसमं उद्देश।

एविन्दियमी विपागाम भोइणो न वंभयारिस्स हियाय कर्त्तरै।

Uttara XXXII. 11.

Uttara. I. 32.

अन्नाय उंडं चरद विसुद्धं जवणट्ठया सुमुदाणं च निक्कं।

अलदुयं नो परिदेवएज्जा लदू न विकत्यई स पुञ्जो।

Dasa IX. 4. 3.4.

संथार सेज्जा सण भत्त पाणे, अप्पिच्छया अइलामे विसर्ते।

जोएव मण्णाणभितोस एज्जा, संतोस पाहन्नरए स पुञ्जो।

Dasa IX. 4. 3.5.

⁶ अणसण मूणो यरिया भिक्षायरिया रस परिच्छाओ।

काय किलेसा संलीणयाय बउको तबो होई।

Uttara XXX. 8.

⁷ Jātaka VI. 3-6.

⁸ एक दिवसं निमन्तने एकब्बे माण वा गुलम् दधिना भुजिज्ञु एक चे खीरेज।

J. I. 123.

⁹ नोपणीयं आहृत्ता हवइ से निमग्न्ये तं कहू मिति चे ? आयरियाह—निमग्न्य स सत्तु पशीयं आहारं। आहारे माणस्स बम्भयरिस्स बम्भवेरे संका वा कंका वा विइगिळ्ठा वा समुप्पिङ्गज्जा भेदं वा लभेज्जा उम्मायं वा पाडणिज्जा, दीहूकालियं वा रोगा यं कं हवेज्जा के वस्ति पक्ष-

Both the Buddhists and Jains lay emphasis on simplicity of food for monks. The Buddhist monks were advised to avoid a meal to be taken by three persons together (*Tikabbojana*) as also a group meal (*gopabojana*) because they might get fond of well cooked and sweet things.¹ The Buddha prescribed that a healthy Bhikkhu should not request a householder to provide such rich food stuffs as ghee, butter, oil, honey, sugar, fish, meat, milk and curds.² The Jain monks were not allowed to take highly nourishing food such as milk, curds, ghee, oil, etc. because such nourishing food makes one overstrong and desires rush upon him as the birds rush upon a tree laden with sweet fruit.³ The Jain monks were expected to visit only those places where coarse food such as *Kulmāsa* was provided.⁴ Jain monks should not take too much interest in the food preparations.⁵

ताप्यो धम्मात्रो भसेज्ञा । तम्हा खलुनो निम्नन्ये परीयं आहारं आहारेज्ञा ।

Uttara. XVI. 7.

नो आहारायाए पाणं भौपर्णं आहारेता हवइ से निम्नन्ये ।

Uttara. XVI. 8.

¹ Culla. VII. 13.

² Bhikkhupatimokkha (H) V. 39, Bhikkhunipatimokkha V. 5. 222-229.

³ Uttara. XXX. 4.

रसापाचां न निसेविषब्बा, पायं रसा दित्त करा नराणम्
दित्तं च कामा समभिद्वंति तुमं जहा साउकलं च पक्षी ।

Uttara. XXXII. 10.

परीयं भत् पाणं तु लिप्यं मय विवहृणं ।
वंभवेर रओ भिक्खु निच्छसो परिवज्ञए ।

Uttara. XVI. 7.

⁴ पन्ता गिवेव सेवेज्ञा सीय पिण्डं पुराणं कुम्मासं
अदु वृक्षसं पुलागं वा जवणट्ठाए निसेवए मंथु ।

Uttara. VIII. 12.

आयाम्बं चेव जबोद्वां च सीयं सोबीर जबोदगं च ।
न हीलए पिण्डं नीरसं तु परिव्वए स भिक्खू ।

Uttara. XV. 13.

परिवाडीए न चिट्ठेज्ञा चिक्कल दत्तेसणं चरे ।
पडिरूपेण एसिता चियं कलिण भक्ताए ।
विभूसा इत्यं संसम्मो परीयं रसभोर्ण ।
न रसउत्तरं वेसिस्स विसं ताल उडं जहा ।

Dasav. VIII. 57.

⁵ मुद्दे सणाए न च्वाणं तत्य ठवेज्ज भिक्खु अप्पाणम् ।
जायाए धास मेसेज्ञा रसगिद्देन सियो भिक्खाए ।

Uttara. VIII. 11.

अलोलभिक्खू न रसेमु गिद्दे उळं चरे जीविय नाभिक्ष्मे ।
इडिङ्कं च सफ्कारण पूर्वणं च चए ठियणा अणि हे जेस भिक्खू ।

Dasav. X. 17.

They were not expected to declare the qualities of food for the same reason.¹ An ideal monk according to the Buddha, does not kill any animal for food, accepts only one course, does not take food at improper times. He does not accept uncooked foodgrains, or meat.² The Buddha did not allow the monks the use of stuffed couches and chairs when taking food.³

It appears that the diet of the Buddhist monks consisted of milk rice in the breakfast, rice and curry at lunch and slight repast consisting of ghee, butter, oil, honey or molasses in the afternoon. They did not eat anything at night.⁴ We learn that other ascetics generally lived on leaves, bulbs, roots such as radish, lotus stalks, fruits such as jujube, myrobalan, honey, wild rice and black mustard.⁵ Some naked ascetics took food in a standing posture, they licked their hands clean and refused to accept any invitations. They abstained from fish, meat and strong drinks and lived on pot herbs, wild rice, leather, paring, *baya* (a water plant), scum of boiled rice, broken pieces of rice, oil cake, grasses and such fruits as fell from the tree themselves.⁶ But it appears that some ascetics had no objection to taking meat preparations.⁷ Some monks were fond of eating mangoes, some of onions and some others of garlic.⁸ The

¹ सुपचिति सुपचिति सुचिन्ते सुहृदे मठे।
सुणिदित्तर सुलदित्तरि सावद्य बज्जए मुणी।

Uttara. I. 36.

² एक भृतिको समणो गोतमो रत्न परत्तो।
विकालभोजना पटिविरतो समणो गोतमो।

Digh. Part. I., p. 5 (Bhāgavata)

Digha (H) I. 1, Kalpasutra. V. 8, Culla. VII. 5. 25.37, Mahavagga. I. 56.

³ Culla. VIII. 5.3. V. 19.

⁴ Mahavagga. I. 25. 8, I. 30. 8, Culla. XII. 2.8, Losaka J. 41.

स कथयति भगवन् किमकाले कल्पेत। भगवन् आह पूर्णडशाहरापानकानिचेति।
ततो मेष्टकेन गृह्यतिना वृद्ध प्रसूतो भिक्षु संघोज्ञालसाधकः अकालथानकैदव संतर्पितः।

Div. 130.2.

⁵ Bhikkhuparamparā J. No. 496, J. I. 251.

⁶ साक भवता सामाक भवता नीवार भवता दद्दुल भवता हृष्ट भवता कण भवता आचाम
भवता पिङ्गक भवता वन मूल फलाहारा यापे सु पवत्त फल भोजी।

Digh. I. 166, Kassapasihanāda Sutta

सेवाल भविक्षणो नूलाहारा कन्दाहारा पत्ताहारा तथाहारा पुण्फाहारा फलाहारा बीया-
हारा।

Bhagavati XI. 9.6.

⁷ Digh. I. 141, Aupapātika Sūtra.

⁸ Aca. II. 7.

Buddha laid down that not more than three Bhikkhus should visit a house on one day. They should also not visit a house in the afternoon, for it might cause inconvenience to the householder.¹ The Buddhist monks were allowed to take molasses, ghee, butter, oil, honey, fish, flesh, milk and curds but were not allowed to drink *Sura* or *Maireya*.²

The Jains were expected to take their meals at a place which was free from insects and green plants, was covered with some piece of cloth and was surrounded with walls.³ From the Jātakas we know that people took food in dining halls and sat on benches while doing so.⁴ Some of them also used cushions.⁵ The Buddha laid down rules of etiquette for the monks. He laid down that while eating, the whole hand should not be thrust into the mouth. A person should not talk with rice in his mouth, eat tossing up balls of food, stuff his cheeks with rice, shake hands, scatter lumps of rice, put out his tongue, make a hissing sound, lick his fingers or bowl or accept a drinking cup with a hand soiled with food.⁶ He also insisted that the same food should be served to all and that even the eldest monk should not begin taking his meal until the cooked rice had been served to all. Eating delicious dishes (*Uttaribharīga*) alone was also considered improper.⁷ It was also laid down that the monk who came back first from his round for alms in the village should make preliminary arrangements for the dining of the whole fraternity such as getting ready the seats, water for washing and drinking, towels etc. He, who came last, was to clean the dining room after he had taken his meals.⁸ We also have interesting details about the customs prevalent at that time. In times of scarcity

¹ Culla. VII. 3.13, XII. 1.1, S.B.B. V, p. 333.

² Culla. VII. 3.39, 51, Mahavagga. I. 56.

³ अप्य पाणे अप्य बीमिषं पदिच्छस्मि सबुडे।

समयं सजए भूजे जयं अपरिसाडियम्।

Uttara I. 33.

⁴ J. 31.

Salā—dining hall.

Asanapbalaka—bench.

⁵ Culla. V. 19, *Asitakkopadbhāna*.

⁶ Culla. VIII. 4-5, Culla. (H) VIII. 2.2.

c.f. Bhikkhu Pātimokkha (H) VII. 27-56, Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha VI. 27-56, Majjhima (H) 91.

⁷ Culla (H) VIII. 2.2, Sudhābhōjana J. 533.

⁸ Culla. (H) VIII. 3.1.

food was distributed to the monks at Rājagṛha by tying tickets with each share.¹

It appears that the food of the poor people generally consisted of such coarse preparations as cold cakes, *Kulmāṣa*, fried beans such as *Mudga* and *Māṣa*, shrivelled grain (*Pulāka*), scum of boiled rice (*Ācāma*), barley mess, barley water, sour gruel, or butter milk, salt and oil.² The rich on the other hand enjoyed delicious rice gruel, cakes of eighteen kinds and food having a number of flavours. They also took some delicacies (*Uttaribharīga*) at the end of their meals.³

The Brāhmaṇas were feasted with meat and rice preparations.⁴ From the Ambaṭṭha Sutta we learn that they lived on boiled *Sāli* rice, pulses from which black specks had been sought out and removed and flavoured with meat sauces and curries (*Vyañjana*) of various kinds.⁵

The Samājas afforded occasions for big feasts. Feasts were also arranged on such auspicious occasions as the birth of a son. These feasts took place in dining halls where people sat on excellent comfortable seats.⁶

On some routes it was difficult to get food stuffs so the Buddha allowed his followers to take some food for journey (*Pāṭheyā*) such as rice, *mudga*, *māṣa*, salt, *gūḍa*, oil and clarified butter.⁷

The food habits of people naturally differed from region to region. The Kambojas of Uttarāpatha were in the habit of eating insects, moths and some kinds of snakes, and frogs.⁸ While the people of Komāpa were fond of fruits and flowers.⁹

¹ S.B.B. Vol. V, p. 247., Culla. VI. 20.

² Mahāvagga (Hindi) VI. 5.1, Kassapasihanāda Sutta. Uttara. XV.

³ सौतरीभंगं यागु पिवित्वा अट्ठारत विषम् खज्जकम् खादित्वा नानग्नरसेहि सुभोजनम् भुज्जितुम् न वहतीर्ति ।

J. I. 186.

सत सहस्रघ निकाय सुवण्णपालिया सतरस भोजनं भुज्जर्ति

J. II. 319.

⁴ J. 545, VI. 238.

⁵ Digh. I, p. 88, Digh. (H) I. 5.

⁶ Kalpa. Sū., p. 255.

⁷ Mahāvagga (H) VI. 6.4.

⁸ Bhūridatta. J. 543, Barua. II. 259.

⁹ Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya. I. 1239.

To sum up in the early Jain and Buddhist works, rice occupied a more prominent place than barley or wheat. Some fine preparations from cereals such as *Ghayapurnaka*, *Morandaka* and *Khajakas* and from pulses *Vatikas* of many kinds and *Parpatas* were made. Milk products and fruits and vegetables of all kinds were widely used. Fruit syrups seem to have been very popular. In the east meat and fish were common articles of food but some people eschewed meat diet as a result of the teachings of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. Drinking on festive occasions was common but the followers of the Buddha and Mahāvīra were expected to avoid it. The Jains were very particular about non-killing of living creatures, hence they used only strained water and avoided all food articles in which there was a possibility of the existence of any insect. The Buddha allowed all food articles necessary to sustain life but the Jain monks were advised to abstain from all food as a last stage in spiritual advancement. It is quite probable that the rules about diet current among the Jains may have come from the code of the Ājivikas.

CHAPTER IV
FOOD AND DRINKS
(300 B.C. to 75 A.D.)

For the period 300 B.C. to 75 A.D. we have information from the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the edicts of Aśoka and the accounts of Greek historians. Incidentally Patañjali's great commentary, the Mahābhāṣya, also throws some light on the food habits of the Indians. We have utilized all this information in the first section of this chapter. The authorities utilized in the second section are of a date slightly more uncertain.¹

SECTION I (MAURYA AND SUNGA PERIOD)

It appears from the Greek sources that there were two main crops, one ripening in winter consisting of rice and millet and the other ripening in summer, the chief products thereof being wheat and barley as now.² But from Kauṭilya we learn that there was a third crop which was grown between the two main crops. It chiefly produced beans such as *Mudga* and *Māṣa*.³

CEREALS AND PULSES

Rice and barley continued to be the staple foodgrains.⁴ Besides the old varieties of rice *Sāli*, *Vṛībi*, *Kodrava* and *Priyamīgu* two new varieties *Dāraka* and *Varaka* had come into use in Kauṭilya's time.⁵ From Patañjali it appears that *Hāyana* and *Sāstika* varieties of rice were quite popular.⁶ No new preparations of

¹ According to the *Mabāvibhāṣā*, a commentary on the *Jñānaprasthāna* of Kātyāyanīputra, the Rāmāyaṇa contained only 12,000 ślokas in the first century A.D. instead of the present version which has 24,000 ślokas.

² Strabo. XV. Frag. C. 290.

³ शालिद्विहिकोद्रवतिलप्रियज्ञुदारकवराकाः पूर्ववापाः। मुद्गमाषसंस्थाः मध्यवापाः। कुमुमसूरकुलुत्ययवगोष्ठमकलायातसीसर्वाः पश्चाद्वापाः।

Kaut. II. 24; 16-18.

⁴ Kaut. II. 24, McCrindle, p. 127.

⁵ *Dāraka* (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*)—Kaut. II. 24.16.

Same as *Uddālaka* in Caraka.

Varaka—(*Phraseolus Trilobus*)—Kaut. II. 24.16.

⁶ *Hāyana*—Patanjali IV. 1.27, p. 223.3.

Sāstika—Ibid IV. 1.93, p. 360. 3.

rice are mentioned.¹ The two varieties of barley one cultivated and the other uncultivated² were commonly used in preparing a mess, a gruel, groats and cakes. Gruel was also prepared with an inferior food grain called *Gavīdbukā*. Groats were now eaten with curds.³ Wheat now occupied a more important place among the cereals than in the previous period, it being invariably mentioned with barley.⁴ Besides the old pulses, pea seems to have become very popular. A soup prepared from it is expressly mentioned by Patañjali. *Rājamāṣa* had also come into use in his time.⁵ A taboo against the use of *Māṣa* and its preparations is referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya*. *Kulmāṣa* was eaten in this period as well.⁶

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Kauṭilya mentions an officer called *Go'dhyakṣa* assisted by two junior persons in charge of milking cows (*dohaka*) and churning curds (*Manthaka*).⁷ Cows were generally milked twice a

¹ The old preparations mentioned are :—

Odana or *Bhakta*—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 42. 17, III. 1.26 p. 33. 26, McCrindle p. 74. Frag. 28.

Kṛṣṇa—Kaut. II. 12. 5., Patañjali VIII. 3.39 p. 439.12.

Sapkūl—Patañjali I. 1.47 p. 116.23.

Pūpa—Patañjali I. 1.7. p. 38.5.

Aphāpa—Ibid. I. 2.45. p. 217. 13.

Piṣṭapīḍa—Ibid. II. 1.57 p. 399. 24.

² *Yava* (cultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127.

Yavāṇī (uncultivated barley)—McCrindle, p. 127., Patañjali IV. 1.49., p. 220.

³ *Siddhapiṭṭha* (Cakes)—Kaut. II. 15.41.

Yāvaka (a mess)—Kaut. II. 15.40.

Yavāṇī (gruel)—Patañjali II. 1.36. p. 388. 25.

Saktu (groats)—Patañjali I. 1. 57. p. 149. 11.

Yavāṇī cooked with *Gavīdbukā* Ibid. IV. 3. 136 p. 323.2.

Dadhbisaktu (curds with parched barley meal)—Patañjali. I. 1.49 and L. 1. 37.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 27, Kaut. II. 24.18.

⁵ The old pulses in common use were :—

Mudga—Kaut. II. 24.17.

Māṣa—Kaut. II. 24.17.

Masūra—Kaut. II. 24. 18.

Kulattika—Kaut. II. 24.18.

Kalāya Sūpa—(a soup prepared from pea)—Patañjali. V. 1.19 p. 344.18.

Rājamāṣa—Patañjali V. 1.20. p. 345. 25.

⁶ मापा न भोक्तव्या इत्युत्ते मिथा अपि न भूयन्ते।

Mahābhāṣya I. 127.

Kulmāṣa—Kaut. II. 15.

⁷ Kaut. II. 29.

day in the rainy season, autumn and winter, but only once in the spring and summer seasons.¹ Besides cow's milk, milk of buffaloes, sheep and goats was used. Clarified butter was prepared from the milk of these animals.² Curds and churned curds seem to have been popular as a person who sold the latter is mentioned.³ Other products of milk in common use were butter and butter milk. Kauṭilya lays down that buttermilk should be given to the dogs and pigs, solid part of inspissated milk (*Kārcikā*) to the soldiers with the food, and the liquid part (*Kilāta*) to the cows with fodder.⁴

MEAT DIET

Kauṭilya mentions a superintendent of slaughter houses⁵ and permits the sale of the flesh of animals recently killed. He lays down that the flesh of those animals which had died a natural death, were killed outside the slaughter house, were giving out a foul smell or were devoid of head or bones should not be sold.⁶ He mentions a vendor of cooked meat and says that for dressing twenty *palas* of flesh, half a *kuduka* of oil, one *pala* of salt, two *dharanas* of pungent spices and half a *prastha* of curds

¹ वर्षशिरद्वेमन्तानुभवतः कालं दुह्युः। शिशिरवसन्तप्रीष्मानेककालम्।

Kaut. II. 29. 29-30.

² शीरद्वोणे गवा चूतप्रस्थः। पञ्चभागाधिको महिषीणाम्। द्विभागाधिकोऽजावीनाम्।

Kaut. II. 29. 34-36.

³ *Dadbi* (curds) is mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour liquid substances (*dravāmlawarge*), Kaut. II. 12.5.

^{18.} *Mathitika*—(one who sells curds)—Patañjali V. 3.83. p. 425.

⁴ *Haiyanugavīna* (butter prepared from yesterday's milk) Patañjali V. 2.23. P. 375.2, 375.5.

Udasvit (buttermilk).

उदशिवच्छ वरेण्याहेष्यो दद्युः।

Kaut. II. 29.25.

Kārcikā (solid part of inspissated milk)

कूर्चिकां सेनाभक्तार्थमाहरेषुः।

Kaut. II. 29.26.

Kilāta (inspissated milk)

किलाटो धाणपिण्डाकवलेदार्थः।

Kaut. II. 29. 27.

⁵ *Sūnādbyakṣa*—Kaut. II. 26.

⁶ मृगपशूनामनस्थिमासं सद्योहर्तं विकीर्णीरन्। अस्थिमतः प्रतिपातं दद्युः। वत्सो वृषो धेनुश्चैपामवध्याः। परिखूनमशिरः पादास्थि विगच्छ स्वयं मूर्तं च न विकीर्णीरन्।

Kaut. II. 26. 10-14.

are required¹. Fish and seasoned meat were also in common use.² Arrian's evidence shows that people in the hills were mostly non-vegetarians.³ Megasthenes states that Indian philosophers generally abstained from animal food.⁴

Aśoka's edicts show that thousands of living creatures were killed for food in his kitchen before he issued his decree restricting the practice to two peacocks and one deer.⁵ Animals were also killed in the *Samājas*.⁶ From the *Mahābhāṣya* we learn that deer especially the *Sāraṅga* variety, and sheep were killed in Patañjali's

¹ *Pākavamāṇisika* (cooked meat seller).

शौण्डिक पाकवमाणिकीदनिक रूपा जीवा परिज्ञातमावसयेयः।

Kaut. II. 33. 9.

मासपलविशत्या स्नेहार्थं कुडुबः पलिको लवणस्यांशः क्षारसलवीगो हिघरणिको कटुकयोगो दञ्जसचार्धप्रस्थः।

Kaut. II. 15.66.

१ *Pala* == 25 *rattis* १ *Dbaraya* == 2½ *rattis*.

१ *Kudubha* == 22 *tolas* १ *Prastha* == 29 *tolas*.

श्रथधात्यमायद्विपलशर्तं द्रोणमावमानम्। सप्ताशीति पलशतमर्घपलं च व्यावहारिकम्। तेपामाइकप्रस्थकुडुबासत्तुभीगा वरा:।

Kaut. II. 19. 32-36.

² शूष्कमत्स्यमासि कन्दमूलफलशाकादि च शाकवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.22.

Kauṭilya calls seasoned meat (*Vallīra*) Kaut. II. 4.35.

³ Indika XVI.

⁴ McCrindle, p. 99, Strabo XVI. 1.59.

⁵ इयं अंमं लिपि देवान् पियेना पियदसिना लेखिता हिदा ना किञ्चि जिवे आलभितु एजो-हित विवे नोपि वा समाजे कटविये बहुका हि दोता समाज सा देवानां पिये पियदसी लाजा दखति अथि पि चा एकतिथा समाजं साधुमता देवानां पियसा पिय दसिसा लाजिते अनुदिवसं बहुति पाण सहासानि आलभियिसु सुपठाये से इदानि यद इयं अंमं लिपि लेखिता तदा तिनि येवा पानानि आलभियिति दुवे मजुका एके भिंगे आलभियिसति।

Rock Edict. I.

इमानि जातानि अवध्यानि कूतानि तानि यथा शूकः सारिका अरुणः चक्रवाकः हंसः नान्दीमूळः गेलाटः जतुकः अभ्याक पीलिका दुड़िः अनास्तिक मत्स्यः देव वेयकः (जीवं जीवकः)। गंगा पुष्टक (गंगा कुम्भकृतः) संकुल मत्स्यः (शकुल मत्स्यः) कमठः शल्यः पर्णशशा: सूमरः पण्डकः, अकपिण्डः, पूषतः श्वेत कपोतः, ग्राम कपोतः सर्वं चतुर्थदः यः परिभ्रोगं न एति न च साद्यते। एडका च सूकरी च गर्भिणी वा पयस्तिवनी वा अवध्या पोतकाः अपि आशाप्मासिकाः। बर्धितः कुम्भकृतः न कर्तव्यः। तुषा: सजीवा: न दर्शव्यः। जीवेन जीवः न पोष्टव्यः। तिसूपु चातुर्मासीषु तिथ्येषोर्णमास्यां अवध्यः। नापि विक्रेतव्यः मोक्षा कुलः।

Pillar Edict. V.

Peacock was the only bird which is forbidden by the authors of *Smṛti*s but was eaten by Aśoka.

⁶ Kaut. (Mysore 1919), p. 45., Vinaya IV. 267, Mahāvastu. III. 57, 383. C.f. Mbh. Virata. II. 7. XIII. 15-16.

time for food and there were persons who were fond of flesh.¹ Flesh of deer was cooked with rice and fish were eaten after removing scales and small bones.² It seems that meat having much fat was relished.³ Flesh of village or town cocks and boars was generally avoided,⁴ and it seems that the Brāhmaṇas considered it improper to sell flesh.⁵

SWEETS

Honey was in common use⁶ but the products of sugarcane such as inspissated juice of sugarcane, *guḍa*, raw sugar, sugar-candy and refined sugar were quite popular.⁷ Even Megasthenes speaks very highly of Indian sugar.⁸ Besides the old sweets

¹ मांसैदनाय व्याहरति मृगः।

Patañjali II. 3.1, p. 450-1.

अवेमोसम्।

Patañjali IV. 2. 60 p. 283-20.

सारंगं जनिथि।

Ibid. II. 2. 36, p. 437-21.

Mānasafīla—Ibid. III. 2. 1, p. 95. 18.

² शकलं कष्टकान् उत्सृजति।

Ibid. I. 2.39, p. 912.6.

³ प्रवपानि मांसानि।

Ibid. VIII. 4.16 p. 458. 12.

⁴ अभद्रयो ग्राम्यकुकुटोऽभद्रयो ग्राम्यशूकरः।

Ibid. I. 1.1., V. 16.

नागरोऽपि न भक्षयते।

Ibid. VII. 3.14., p. 320-22.

⁵ मांसं न विक्रेतव्यम्।

Kielhorn. I. 25.

⁶ Honey—Strabo. XV. 491, Patañjali I. 1.1., p. 18-19, Kauṭilya also mentions honey prepared from grapes:

क्षीद्रं माद्विकां च भवति।

Kaut. II. 15.17.

⁷ Sugarcane—

Aelian mentions reeds which yielded very sweet milk which did not require honey to be mixed with it.

McCrindle, p. 143.

Kaut. II. 15.24.

फणितगुडमस्यजिङ्कालजडशर्करा: क्षार वर्णः।

Kaut. II. 15.15.

Phāṇita (inspissated juice of sugarcane)—Kaut. II. 15.15.

Guḍa (molasses)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali I. 4.49 p. 333-3.

Matiyāṣṭikā (sugar candy)—Kaut. Ibid.

Khaṇḍa (raw sugar)—Kaut. Ibid.

Sarkarā (granulated sugar)—Kaut. Ibid., Patañjali IV. 4. 83. p. 334.11.

⁸ Pliny says that the Indian sugar was better than the Arabian sugar (McCrindle, p. 122). Megasthenes thought that the Indian sugarcandy was better than that prepared from figs or honey. (Megasthenes X, Strabo XV. 703).

such as *apūpa*, *saskuli* and *pālala* Patañjali mentions *Modakas*.¹

SALTS AND SPICES

Kautilya mentions a superintendent of salt² and six varieties of salt, rock salt from the Sindhu country, sea salt, *bida* salt, nitre, *sauvaracala* and *Udbbedaja*.³ Pliny speaks very highly of Indian pepper. The black pepper was considered agreeable to the palate and the white one less pungent.⁴ Other spices in common use were long pepper, ginger, cumin seeds, white mustard, corriander, cloves and turmeric.⁵ Four kinds of cardamom white, reddish white, short and black mottled and friable are mentioned but the green variety was much esteemed.⁶ Some other spices were also used.⁷ Aristobulos states that spikenard, cinnamon and other aromatics were produced in India.⁸

Vinegar was prepared from sugarcane juice, *guda*, honey, inspissated juice of sugarcane, rose apple and jack fruits. A decoction of *mesastrīgi* and pepper was poured into it. Fruits such as cucumber, pieces of sugarcane, mango, and *āmalaka* (embllic myrobalan) were preserved in vinegar.⁹ Sour gruel was also used.¹⁰

¹ *Apūpa*—(sweet cakes)—See p. 88, f. n. 1.
Saskuli—(sweet cakes)—Ibid.

² *Pālala*—A kind of sweet meat made of *guda*, sesamum and sugar, Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38. 6.

³ *Modakas* were generally prepared with wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with sugar—Patañjali V. 1.119 p. 366. 9.

⁴ *Lavapaddbyakṣa*—Kaut. II. 12. Clitarchus mentions salt mines in his account of India. McCrindle, p. 99.

⁵ सैन्धवसामुद्रविड्यवक्षारसीवर्चलोद्भेदजा लवणवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.16.

⁶ McCrindle, p. 121.

⁷ पिप्पलीमरीचशूक्रिन्दिवेराजाजिकिराततिमतगौरसर्वपकुस्तुम्बुरुचोरकदमनकमस्वक शिषु-काण्डादि: कटुकवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.21.

Cloves are also mentioned by Pliny (McCrindle, p. 122).

⁸ McCrindle, p. 125.

⁹ *Coraka*, *Damanaka*, *Maruvaka*, *Sigrū*, *Haritaki*, *Mesastrīga*.

¹⁰ McCrindle, p. 28.

¹¹ इत्युरसगुडमधुकाणितजाम्बवपेनसामन्यतमो भेषशूक्री पिप्पली क्वाथाभिषुतो मासिकः पाण्मासिकः सांवत्सरिको वा चिद्रभिटोर्वर्णकेशुकाण्डाभ्रफलामलकावसुतः शुद्धो वा शुक्त वर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.

¹² दधिधान्याम्लादि द्रवाम्ल वर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.20.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

The important oil seeds were sesamum, safflower, linseed and mustard.¹ The Greek writers state that oil was extracted from sesamum and exported from India.² From Kauṭilya we learn that besides clarified butter and oil animal fats such as, scrum of flesh and pith were also used.³ Sesamum oil was kept in wooden or earthen vessels and used in frying,⁴ but other oils may also have been used in cooking.⁵ From the Mahābhāṣya we infer that it was considered improper for a Brāhmaṇa to sell oil.⁶

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

From the Greek sources we learn that figs, grapes, banana and tamarind⁷ were in common use, but *Karamarda*, *Parīṣaka*, mango, emblic myrobalan, citrus medica, the three varieties of jujube, rose apple, cucumber, palm fruit and *rājāḍana*⁸ were also eaten. Mango gardens were planted by Aśoka himself.⁹ Patañjali mentions *bimba* (*momordica monodelpha*), pomegranates, and

¹ Kaut. II. 15, II. 24.18.

² McCrindle, p. 127, Strabo. XV. 491, Indika XV. C.7.

³ सर्पिस्तैल वसामज्जानः स्मेहाः।

Kaut. II. 15.14.

⁴ उच्चैर्धन्यस्य निशेषो मूत्राः क्षारस्य संहताः। मूत्रकाट-कोट्ठाः स्मेहस्य पृथिवी लव-जस्य च।

Kaut. II. 15.84.

⁵ Other substances from which oil was extracted were *nimba*, *kuṣa*, *āvra*, *kapittha*, *madhuṅka*, and *īngudi*.

षट्कं तैलमतसीनाम्। निम्बकुशाम्रकपित्त्यादीनां च पञ्चभागः। चतुभागिका-स्तिलकुसुमभूकेङ्गुदीरुनेहः।

Kaut. II. 15. 49-51.

६ तेऽन विश्रेतव्यम्।

Mahābhāṣya Kielhorn (1892) I., p. 25.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 120. Strabo XV. 492.

⁸ वृक्षाम्लकरमर्दाभ्रविदलामलकमातुलुङ्कोलबदरसौधीरकपल्लवकादिफलाम्लवर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.19.

Jambū (rose apple), *pānasa* (bread fruit), *cidhīja* (cucumber).

urārakā (a kind of cucumber) are mentioned in Kaut. II. 15.

यवमाषतिलपलाशापीलुक्षारैर्गोक्षीराजक्षीरेवा कदली वज्रकन्द प्रतीवापो मादिव कर।

Tālaphala (palm fruit)

Kaut. II. 12. 9.

Rājāḍana

Kaut. II. 12.2.

Mrduṅkā (grapes)

Kaut. II. 17.4.

Cīla (mango)

Kaut. II. 24.31.

* Pillar Edict. VII.

Kaut. II. 12.2.

grapes.¹ Some of these fruits may have been imported from neighbouring countries.

Among vegetables Kauṭilya refers to roots, fruits and tubers² as also fruits gathered from creepers.³ The roots mentioned are *Pindāluka* and *Vajrakanda* (*Sūrāṇa*).⁴ Pot herbs are called *Sāka* or *Haritaka*.⁵ Of the flowers *Kavidāra*, and of the beans pea were used as vegetables.⁶ It appears from Patañjali that onions were mostly eaten by non-vegetarians⁷ and sometimes used to flavour liquors.⁸ He uses the word *Sākabhojin* i.e. a consumer of vegetables.⁹

INTOXICATING DRINKS

Megasthenes states that the Indians drank only at the religious ceremonies;¹⁰ but this does not seem to be the actual state of affairs in view of the account of Kauṭilya. There was a superintendent of liquors.¹¹ The liquor shops had many rooms provided with beds and seats and other comforts such as scents and garlands.¹² These shops were situated at stated intervals and

¹ *Bimba* (*momordica monodelpha*)—Patañjali I. 1.58 p. 153.13.

Dādima (*pomegranate*)—Patañjali I. 1.1. p. 38. 5.

Mrduvka (*grapes*)—Patañjali VI. 3. 42 p. 158.16.

Kusala (*jujube*)—Patañjali IV. 3.170. p. 323. 5.

² कन्दमूलकलादिरौपयथर्यः।

Kaut. II. 17.11.

शुक्रमत्स्यमासाकन्दमूलफलशाकादि च शाक वर्गः।

Kaut. II. 15.22.

³ फेनाधातो वलीफलानां, परीवाहान्ताः मृद्दीकेष्टुणां, कूपपर्वन्तशाकमूलानां, हरिण-पर्वताः: हरितकानां, पल्योलवानां गन्धभैषज्योशीरहीवेर पिण्डालुकानाम्।

Kaut. II. 24.31.

पुणफलशाकमूलकन्दबालिक्यवीज शुक्रमत्स्यमासानां वटभागं गृह्णीयात्।

Kaut. II. 22.4.

⁴ *Pindāluka*—Kaut. II. 24.31.

Vajrakanda—Kaut. II. 12.9.

⁵ Kaut. II. 15.22, II. 22.4, II. 24.31.

⁶ *Kavidāra*—Kaut. II. 12.7.

Kalāya (*Pea*) Ibid.

⁷ Patañjali II. 2.36. p. 437.21.

⁸ अयं पत्राभूना सुरा पिबेत्।

Mahābhāṣya, p. 419. 4.

⁹ Patañjali II. 1.69 p. 406.7.

¹⁰ McCrindle, p. 27, Strabo. XV. 709.

¹¹ *Sṛvidhyakṣetra* II. 25.1.

¹² पानागाराच्चतेकक्षयाणि विभक्तशयनासनवन्ति पानोद्देशानि गन्धमाल्योदकवन्पृत्तु-

सुखानि कास्येत्।

Kaut. II. 15.12.

liquor was sold to persons of well known character in small quantities.¹ Manufacture of wine was a state monopoly but on festive occasions the right of private manufacture of beer for four days was recognised on payment of licence fees.² Women were employed to remove the fermented drugs.³ From Patañjali we learn that there were some people who could drink a complete jar of wine through a pipe made of reeds.⁴ As stated above sometimes liquors were flavoured with the juice of onions.⁵

According to Megasthenes rice beer was the common drink in India; but Kauṭilya gives, a detailed account of the method and ingredients of various other intoxicating drinks. *Medaka*⁶ and *Prasannā*⁷ were manufactured from rice. In an *Āsava* extract of *Kapittha* and inspissated juice of sugarcane were the principal

¹ Kaut. II. 25.

² Kaut. II. 25.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The distilling apparatus resembled the trunk of an elephant, hence a distiller was called *Syāḍin* (Patañjali IV. 1.52, p. 246-26). *Ghaṭīśādbhāṣa* and *Nāḍīśādbhāṣa*—Patañjali III. 2.29, p. 102. 15-16.

⁵ Mahābhāṣya p. 419.4.

⁶ In preparing *Medaka* one dropa of water, half an *āḍhaka* of rice and three *prasthas* of yeast cake were used. The ten ingredients mixed with it were *pāñjhā*, *lodhra*, *tejovati*, *slavāluka*, *madhu* (honey), *madhūka*, *dūrū*, *priyangu*, *dūrubaridrā*, black pepper, and long pepper.

मेदकप्रसाकासवारिष्टमेरेयमधूनामुदकद्रोणम्।

तज्जलानामधीङ्कं त्रयः प्रस्थाः किञ्चस्येति मेदकयोगः।

Kaut. II. 25.7.

मापकलकीद्रोणमामं सिद्धं वा त्रिभागाधिकतण्डुलं सोरटादीनां कार्यिकभागपुक्तः किञ्चबन्धः।

Kaut. II. 25.25.

पाठालोघ्रतेजोवत्येलावालुकत्वमधुरसाप्रियज्ञादाहृदिमरिचपिण्डीनां च पञ्चकार्यिकः संभारयोगो मेदकस्य प्रसन्नायाश्च।

Kaut. II. 25. 27.

⁷ In the preparation of *Prasannā* 12 *āḍhakas* of rice flour, five *prasthas* of *Kigṣa*, and some other spices were required.

द्वादशाङ्कं पिण्डस्य पञ्चप्रस्थाः किञ्चस्य पुत्रकत्वक् फलयुक्तो वा जाति संभारः प्रसन्नायोगः।

Kaut. II. 25.18.

From Patañjali we know that it had often an oily substance.

वहुतैलम् प्रसन्नाः।

Patañjali V. 3.66. p. 421.17.

ingredients,¹ while *Ariṣṭa* was a tincture of medicines.² *Maireya* was a spiced liquor prepared from the bark of *mēṣāṣṭrīgī* (*gymnema sylvestre*) and was a favourite drink of the nobles.³ Wines from grapes were in common use.⁴ The two famous varieties *Kāpiśāyana* and *Hārabūraka* were imported from Afghanistan.⁵ Kauṭilya mentions five varieties of *syrā*, including *svetasurā*, *bijottarā* and *sāmbhārikī*. In *Sabakārasurā* the juice of mango fruit and in *rasottarā* treacle were the chief ingredients; the other three were spiced liquors.⁶ Palm fruit was also used in preparing liquors according to Greek authorities.⁷ Kauṭilya observed that the effects of drunkenness are loss of wealth, insanity, absence of consciousness, loss of knowledge, life, wealth and friends, desertion by virtues and suffering from pain.⁸ It appears from the *Mahābhāṣya* that there was a belief among the Indians that a Brāhmaṇa woman who indulged in drinking would be deprived of her husband's company in the next world.⁹

¹ In the manufacture of *āsava* hundred *pala*s of the extract of *Kapitttha*, 300 *pala*s of inspissated juice of sugarcane and one *prastha* of honey were used.

कपित्थं तुला काणितं पञ्चतीलिकं प्रस्थो मधुन् हत्यासव योगः ।

Kaut. II. 25. 19.

चोचचित्रकविडङ्गगजपिप्पलीनां च पञ्चकथिकाः क्रमुकमधुकमुस्तालोधाणां द्विकार्धिकश्चासवसंभारः ।

Kaut. II. 25.20.

² चकित्सक प्रमाणाः प्रत्येकाशो विकाराणामरिष्टाः ।

Kaut. II. 25.21.

³ *Maireya* was a decoction of the bark of *mēṣāṣṭrīgī* (*Gymnema sylvestre*), *gnīla*, powdered long pepper and black pepper or powder of *harītakī*, *āmalaka* and *vibhītaka* instead of long pepper.

मेषशृङ्गत्वक् चवाचाभिषुटो गुड़ प्रतीवापः पिप्पलीमरिचसंभारस्त्रिफलायुक्तो वा नीरेयः ।

Kaut. II. 25.22.

⁴ मृद्दीका रसो मधु ।

Kaut. II. 25.24.

⁵ तस्य स्वदेशो व्याख्यानां कापिशायनं हारहूरकमिति ।

Kaut. II. 25.25.

⁶ *Surd*—Patañjali I. 2.62. p. 242.25.

Same spices were used in the manufacture of *svetasurā* as are used in preparing *prasāna* variety.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 126, Pliny XIV. C. 16(19).

⁸ पान संपत् संज्ञा नाशोऽनुन्मत्स्थोन्मत्तत्वमप्रेतस्य प्रेतत्वं कौपीनदशनं श्रुतप्रज्ञाप्रणवित्तमित्र हानि, सद्गूर्वियोगोजस्य संयोगस्तन्त्रीगीतन्मुष्येषु चार्यं ज्ञेषु प्रसङ्ग इति ।

Kaut. VIII. 3.65.

⁹ या ब्राह्मणी मुरापी भवति नैनम् देवा: पतिलोके नयन्ति ।

Patañjali. III. 2.8., p. 99.8.

OTHER BEVERAGES

Other beverages were curds, buttermilk, sour gruel, fruit juices and a syrup prepared from molasses.¹ Aśoka also realised the importance of providing drinking water to his people, so he had wells dug at short intervals.²

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The culinary art was so well developed that Kauṭilya could specify the quantities of grain which remained after pounding, cleaning, rubbing between stones, grinding and roasting.³ He also states the increase in different grains after cooking and the quantity of oil which one could get from different oil seeds.⁴ He mentions the quantity of spices and fats required for cooking meat, and states that half that quantity is required for cooking pot herbs and double that quantity for cooking dry vegetables.⁵ Grains, moistened and soaked to sprouting condition, are also mentioned. There were cooks expert in cooking vegetables and pulses, in boiling rice, in preparing cakes and shopkeepers who especially sold cooked meat.⁶

Kauṭilya lays down that the kitchen should be in a safe place and the superintendent of the kitchen should taste every

¹ Dadbi (curds)—Kaut. II. 15.20.

Dbdnyādmla (sour gruel)—Kaut. II. 15.20.

Gudodaka (syrup prepared from molasses)—Patañjali. I. 4.3. p. 310.14.

² Pillar Edict VII, Rock Edict. II.

³ कौद्रवद्वारीहीणामध्यसारः । शालीनामध्यभागोनः । विभागोनः वरकाणाम् । प्रियज्ञानामध्यं सारः । नवभाग बृद्धिश्च । उदारवस्तुल्यः यवागोधूमादच्च क्षुण्णाः । तिलायवा मूदगमायाश्च घृटाः । पञ्चभागवृद्धिर्गोधूमः सन्तवश्च । पादोला कस्तायचमसी । मुदग मायाश्चमध्यं पादोनः । दीम्बानामध्यसारः । विभागोनः मसूराणाम् । पिटभार्म तुल्मायाश्चाध्यर्थगुणाः । द्विगुणोयावकः । पुलाकः पिटं च सिद्धम् । कौद्रवकरकोदारकप्रियज्ञानाम् । त्रिगुणमत्रम् चतुर्मुण दीहीणाम् । पञ्चगुणं शालीनाम् । तिमितमवरान्म द्विगुणमध्याधिकं विश्वदानाम् । पञ्चभागवृद्धिः भृष्टानाम् । कलायो द्विगुणः । लाजा भक्षाश्च ।

Kaut. II. 15.26.

⁴ कौद्रवद्वारीहीणामध्यसारः । शालीनामध्यभागोनः । विभागोनः वरकाणामध्यं सारः । नवभाग बृद्धिश्च । उदारवस्तुल्यः यवागोधूमादच्च क्षुण्णाः । तिलायवा मूदगमायाश्च घृटाः । पञ्चभागवृद्धिर्गोधूमः सन्तवश्च । पादोला कस्तायचमसी । मुदग मायाश्चमध्यं पादोनः । दीम्बानामध्यसारः । विभागोनः मसूराणाम् । पिटभार्म तुल्मायाश्चाध्यर्थगुणाः । द्विगुणोयावकः । पुलाकः पिटं च सिद्धम् । कौद्रवकरकोदारकप्रियज्ञानाम् । त्रिगुणमत्रम् चतुर्मुण दीहीणाम् । पञ्चगुणं शालीनाम् । तिमितमवरान्म द्विगुणमध्याधिकं विश्वदानाम् । पञ्चभागवृद्धिः भृष्टानाम् । कलायो द्विगुणः । लाजा भक्षाश्च ।

Kaut. II. 15.27-48.

⁵ शालीनामध्यर्थं गुणः । शुक्राणां द्विगुणः स चैव योगः ।

Kaut. II. 15.68-69.

⁶ कणिका दासकर्मकारसूरकाराणामतोन्यदीदिनिकापूर्णिकेन्द्रः प्रयच्छत् ।

Kaut. II. 15.81.

See p. 90, f. n. 1 for पाकवमांतिक

preparation before it is served.¹ He also mentions the symptoms of poisoned food articles.² The common kitchen implements in use were a weighing balance, weights, grinding stones, mortar and pestle, a winnowing basket, a sieve, a broom, a basket and a small box for spices etc. The contrivances for pounding rice and splitting pulses had also come into use.³

Strabo mentions that copper vessels were most common and the brazen ones were avoided on account of their supposed brittleness.⁴ The common utensils were water jars, water pots, jars for storing grains, cooking pots, bowls, dishes and cups.⁵ Bronze vessels were also in use.⁶ Bowls, plates and water-vessels are depicted in Bhārhut sculptures.⁷

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

The duty of extending hospitality to guests and making offerings of food to gods and forefathers was considered so important that even a book on polity like Arthaśāstra lays it

¹ गुच्छे देशो माहानसिकः सर्वमास्वादवाहुल्येन कर्म कारयेत् ।॥ तद्राजा तथैव प्रतिभूत्यजीत पूर्वमनये वयोभ्यदेव बर्लि कृत्वा ॥६॥

Kaut. I. 21. 8-9.

² Kaut. I. 21. 10-19.

³ तुलामानभाष्ठं रोचनी दृष्टम् सलोलूखलकुट्टकरोचकयन्त्रपत्रकशूर्पचालनिकाकण्डोली पिटकसंभार्जन्यश्चोपकरणानि ।

Kaut. II. 15.2.

⁴ McCrindle.

⁵ Patañjali mentions the following utensils :

Ghāṭikā (a small water jar) I. 1.1. p. 7.13.

Kuṇḍikā (a water pot) I. 4.44. p. 102.12.

Kammbha (a water jar) I. 1.8. p. 153.1.

Kammbī (a jar for storing grains) I. 3.7. p. 264-2.

Kunda (a bowl) I. 1.1. p. 38L 5.

*Sthālī** (a cooking pot) IV. 1.1. p. 194L. 17.

Ukha (A boiler) IV. 1.6. p. 202L. 13.

Pīṭhara (a pot pan) I. 4.101. p. 350L. 21.

Sardas (a small dish) I. 1.72. p. 189.24.

Tailaghatta (a jar for storing oil) II. 1.1. p. 364L. 18.

Cena IV. 2.7. p. 273.12.

* *Sthālī* has all along been used in the sense of a cooking pot, hence *Sthālīpāka*, offerings cooked in a cooking pot. It does not mean a dish as explained by Dr. B.N. Puri (*India in the Time of Patañjali*, p. 100). Also see Appendix V.

⁶ वहूक्षीरघृतमोदन चूक्ष्यपाण्यां भूत्यजीरक्षिति ।

Patañjali VIII. 2.3. p. 388-12.

⁷ Cunningham Bhārhut Plate XXVIII Figs. 2. and 3, Plate XL Fig. 3.

down among the duties of a householder and a hermit.¹ Food was also set apart for servants and birds etc. before the householder took his meals.²

From the *Mahābhāṣya* it appears that the Śakas and Yavanas were allowed to take their meals in the utensils of the three high castes without making them permanently unclean.³ A student and a hermit were expected to live on alms, while a forester lived on the roots, fruits and tubers gathered from the forest.⁴ Strabo says that the students avoided meat diet while the householders did not eat the flesh of animals employed in labour. They also abstained from hot and highly seasoned food.⁵ The Brāhmaṇas, well-versed in the Vedas, and the hermits were allowed to take fruits which had fallen themselves and the gleanings of corn.⁶

From the account of Megasthenes we learn that when an Indian was at supper a table was placed before him. On this table a golden bowl was placed in which boiled rice and other dainties were served.⁷ This account, no doubt, refers to the rich at whose residences vessels of gold were used daily. The *Mahābhāṣya* states that all those who took their meals in a standing

¹ गृहस्यस्य स्वकर्मजीवस्तुलये रस मानविभिर्वेवा हृतुगमित्व देवप्रतिष्ठिभूत्येषु त्याग्योपभोजनं च।

Kaut. I. 3.9.

बानप्रस्यस्य क्रहृचर्यं भूमौ कथ्या जटाजिनधारणग्निहोत्राभिपेक्षी देवताप्रतिष्ठिपूजा बन्धवचाहारः।

Kaut. I. 3.11.

² हद्राजा तथैव प्रतिभूत्यजीत पूर्वमन्तये वयोग्यश्च वर्णि कृत्वा।

Kaut. I. 21.9.

³ Patañjali on Pāṇini II. 4.10.

शूद्राणाम् अनिरजस्तिनाम्।

Also see L.H.Q. Vol. XV. No. 4, Dec. 1939.

Date of Patañjali's *Mahabhaṣya*—D.C. Sircar.

⁴ ब्रह्मचारिणः स्वाध्यायोऽग्निकार्याभिवेकी भैक्षव्रतत्वमाचार्यं प्राणानितिकी वृत्तिस्तदभावे गुरुपुत्रे स ब्रह्मचारिण च।

Kaut. I. 3.10.

परिवाजकस्य संयतेऽग्नियत्वमनारम्भो निर्दिक्षित्वं सङ्घत्यागो भैक्षमनेकत्राण्य वासो बास्तुमास्यन्तरं च शीचम्।

Kaut. I. 3.12.

For a hermit see p. 99, f. n. 1 above.

⁵ McCrindle, 'Ancient India,' pp. 98 ff.

⁶ प्रशीर्व च पुष्पकलं देवकार्यर्थं श्रीहि यवमायपणार्थं श्रोतियास्तपस्विश्वचाहरेयः।

राशिमूलमूञ्चवृत्तयः।

Kaut. II. 25.41-42.

⁷ McCrindle, p. 74. Frag. XXVIII.

posture were regarded as *Abrāhmaṇa* (not fulfilling the duties of a Brāhmaṇa).¹ Dinner etiquette required that the servers should not partake of the meals while the guests were eating.²

The meal of a gentleman, according to Kautilya, consisted of one *prastha* of pure unbroken rice, one fourth of a *prastha* of pulses, one sixty-fourth part of a *prastha* of salt and one sixteenth part of a *prastha* of clarified butter or oil. For menial-servants the quantity of pulses prescribed is one sixth of a *prastha* and the quantity of oil or clarified butter half of that prescribed for a gentleman. He lays down that women should be provided with three fourths of the above quantities and children only half of what is prescribed for a gentleman.³ Bran was given to blacksmiths and labourers and broken pieces of rice to slaves, servants and cooks who cooked soups, rice and cakes.⁴ The rice used by the king was so highly polished that only five parts of polished rice were considered edible by a king out of twenty parts of unhusked rice.⁵

Greek writers attribute the good health of Indians to simplicity of their food and abstinence from wine.⁶ They state that the physicians lived frugally on rice and meal which were freely supplied by the masses.⁷

The Mahābhāṣya gives two words for invitation, *Niman-*

¹ Patañjali on II. 2.6.

² ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्ताम्, माठरकी इडिन्यो परिवेविष्टाम् इति न इदान्ती भूजन्ते।

Patañjali I. 1.2. p. 28.L. 14.

³ अखण्डपरिशुद्धानां वा तष्ठुलानां प्रस्वः । चतुभागः सूपः सूपयोडशो सवणस्यांशः चतुभागः संणिष्टीलस्य वा एकमार्घवक्तम् । प्रस्वपद्भागः सूपः अर्धस्तेहमवराणाम् । पादोनं स्त्रीणाम् । अर्धं वालानाम् ।

Kaut. II. XV. 61-65.

20 rice grains = 1 *dharanya*

10 *dharanya* = 1 *pala* = 25 *rattis*

112½ *pala*s = 1 *parastha* = about 29 tolas.

⁴ Here the ideal laid down in the Smṛtis, that the same food should be served to the servants which the householder takes himself, is not adhered to. This statement of Kautilya possibly reflects the actual state of affairs.

अज्ञारांस्तुपाल्तोहकमन्तिभित्तिलेप्यानां हारयेत् । कणिका दासकर्मकरसूपकाराणा-
मतोज्यदीदनिकापूणिकेऽप्यः प्रयच्छेत् ।

Kaut. II. 15. 80-81.

⁵ पञ्चव्रोणे शालीनाम् पञ्चवक्तम् राजाम् ।

Kaut. II. 15.60.

⁶ Nearchus Frag. XV., Strabo XV E. 706.

⁷ Strabo Sec. LX.

trāṇa and *Amantrāṇa*. The former was an invitation to take food at sacrifices or a *śrāddha*, the acceptance of which was obligatory. If rejected, without a proper cause, it involved a sin while the latter was a friendly invitation and could be rejected freely.¹ Invitations were generally extended to members of one's own caste.² There were some Brāhmaṇas who did not accept invitation to obsequial dinners.³ In certain feasts, only one food preparation was served; for example only *Vāṭakas* were served on a particular full moonday.⁴ In Patañjali's time boiled rice was considered a decent dish to feast Brāhmaṇas and friends.⁵ There were some persons who ate only rice⁶ while in the Sālva country (Alwar-Bikaner region) people were fond of *Yavāḍgū*.⁷

To conclude, we may note some new features in the food habits during this period. Only two crops are mentioned in the Sūtras but Kauṭilya mentions a third one, mainly consisting of pulses. Some new cereals such as *dāraka* and *varaka* were used and wheat became more popular. To the pulses pea and *rājamādga* seem to have been the new additions. Some new vegetables such as *sūraṇa* and *Koṇidāra* flowers and fruits such as pomegranates, and grapes were used. For seasoning some new spices coriander, cardamom and cloves were used but oil was still considered exotic as its sale by Brāhmaṇas is interdicted. Onions were mostly used by non-vegetarians. People in the hills as stated above, were mostly non-vegetarians. Perhaps there was now a much greater variety of intoxicating drinks and some people took food in a standing posture probably as a result of contact with the foreign elements which had entered India during the period.

¹ एवं तत् हि यज्ञियोगतः कर्तव्यं तप्तिमन्त्रणम् ।

Patañjali III. 1.161. p. 165 L.13-15.

² अन्योन्यम् देवे ब्राह्मणकुले भोजयन्तः ।

Patañjali VIII. 1.14. p. 370L. 19.

³ अथादभोजी आहुषः ।

Patañjali III.2. 80. p. 109. L.19.

⁴ वटकिनी पौर्णमासी ।

Patañjali V. 2. 82. p. 388. L.20.

⁵ Patañjali on I. 1.72. and I. 1.82.

⁶ ग्रीदनं भोजकः ।

Patañjali on II. 3.70.

⁷ Patañjali on VII. 3.69.

SECTION 2 (THE EPICS AND THE MANUSMRTI)

There is wide divergence of opinion among scholars about the date of epics. Dr. Winternitz, for instance, says, "The Mahābhārata cannot have received the present form earlier than fourth century B.C. and later than fourth century A.D."¹ But no student of the social aspects of ancient history can afford to neglect the vast material provided by the two epics. Hence, it is proposed to study the conditions relating to food habits in this period in a separate section. A word may also be said for the inclusion of Manusmṛti material in this section. Dr. V.S. Sukthankar, as a result of his researches, had come to the conclusion that most probably the credit of shaping the Mahābhārata into the present form belongs to the Bhārgavas and according to a tradition the Manusmṛti is the ancient code of Manu as communicated to mankind by Bhṛgu. It is also recognized that there is an intimate connection between the Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti. The opinions of Manu have been frequently cited in the Mahābhārata. All this evidence points to the conclusion that the Mahābhārata in its present form, with all the didactic material in the Sānti and the Anuśāsana Parvas, and the Manusmṛti may be regarded as contemporary works.²

CEREALS AND PULSES

In the epics, the food has been classified into four varieties, hard food, soft food, preparations which are sucked and food stuffs which could be licked such as honey.³ Rice appears to be the staple foodgrain in Ayodhyā as well as in the land of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas.⁴ Of the rice preparations, parched rice,

¹ Winternitz—H.I.L., p. 465.

² Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata. Epic Studies VI. (Sukthankar Memorial Edition) 1944, pp. 334-335. Dr. Sukthankar puts the order of the composition as original Bhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.

Critical Studies in the Mahābhārata, pp. 336-337.

³ भक्ष्यं भोज्यं च चोब्यं च लेह्णं च विविधं बहु।

Rama. Ay. 91-20.

भक्ष्यमौज्येन्द्र रसवद्विर्महाथनैः।

Mbh. Adi. 222.19.

लेह्णं चोब्यं च पेत्यं च हृष्टं स्वादु मनोहरम्।

Mbh. Sabha. 8.6.

⁴ शालितद्वृलसम्पूर्णमिदुकाप्तरसोदकाम्।

Rama. Bal. 5.17.

boiled rice, milk rice, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Sapkuṭi* were the most common.¹ Of the barley preparations groats, *Yavāgī*, *Dhāndab*, *Yāvaka* and *Aphās* continued to be popular.² *Vāṭya* was a gruel prepared

अश्वकूटाश्व दृष्ट्यन्ते वह्यः पर्वतोपमाः।

Rama. Bal. 14.15.

उष्णाहृयस्यौदनस्यात्र राशयः पर्वतोपमाः।

Rama. Bal. 53.3.

पुण्यव्यजवतीः पूजाः शुक्लस्याश्रस्य चाभितः।

Rama. Ay. 91.68.

ओदनं कुम्भाः कृत्वा पुरोधाः समुपाहरत्, सुमनोभिः विचित्राभिरत्मैः कृतरेण च।
Mbh. Asv. 65.12.

¹ *Lōjā* (parched rice)

इक्षुश्व नक्षुलाजांश्च भोजयन्ति स्मवाहनान्।

Rama. Ay. 91.56.

सुमनोभिश्च विचाभिलज्जिरुच्चाक्षरं पि।

Mbh. Asv. 65.5.

Odana (boiled rice)—Rama. Bal. 53.3, Mbh. Asv. 65.12.

Pṝjyasa (milk rice)—

पायसं कृत्वा छारं वृथा सोशनातु निघृणः।

Rama. Ay. 75.30.

पायसं कृत्वा मांसमपूपाश्वं वृथा कृताः।

Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

Kṛṣṇa—Rama. Ay. 75.30, Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Santi. 36.33, Asv. 65.12.

यावकं कृत्वा भासं शब्दुली पायसं तथा।

Mbh. Anu. 161.43.

Sapkuṭi—Mbh. Anu. 161.43.

² *Yava* (barley)

ते यवान्ना जनपदागोषूमान्नास्तथैव च,

तान् देशान् संत्रिव्यन्ति युगा ते पर्युपस्थिते।

Mbh. Van. 190.44.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 88.3.

Yavāgī—

सुशृतं पायसे वृद्धावाच्यां कृत्वे तथा।

Mbh. Santi. 193.22.

संस्कृतं पायसं नित्यं यवां तु कृत्वा हृविः।

Anu. 162.51.

Yāvaka—Mbh. Santi. 36.33, Anu. 161.43.

Aphās—

रसालापूपकं विचित्रान् भोदकान्यखापदवान्।

Mbh. Anu. 53.18.

Mbh. Santi. 36.33; Asv. 65.12.

Sakta—

कणकुलमापिष्याकशाक्यावकसक्तवः।

Mbh. Santi. 36.33,

C.f. Mbh. Santi. 215.22; Anu. 161.91;

Karambha—Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

with parched barley.¹ Wheat preparations were not so common.²

Some inferior grains such as *Kodrava* were probably eaten by the poor.³ Of the pulses besides *Māṣa* and *Mudga*, *Kulattha* (horsegram) and gram (*Caṇaka*) had come into use.⁴ The Rāmāyaṇa also mentions a foodgrain called *Bhadraka*; probably it is an inferior grain known as *Bhadain* near Banaras.⁵ *Kulmāṣa*, besides wild rice and broken pieces of rice, was the food of the poor and the ascetics.⁶

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Besides foodgrains milk formed an important item of food.⁷ The Brāhmaṇas were not allowed to drink milk of sheep, mare, asses, camels, deer, women, and a cow which had recently calved.⁸ Milk-rice continued to be a favourite preparation. Honey was

¹ *Dhāmāp*—Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11.

धाना गौद्यासवं पीत्वा गोमांसं लभन्तः सह।

अपुपमासवाद्यानामाशिनः शीलवर्जिताः।

Mbh. Karṇa. 44.11.

² *Gṛdhrāma* (wheat)—Mbh. Van. 190.44.

³ मश्राद्वेषानि धान्यानि कोद्रवाः पुलकास्तथा।

Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

⁴ चनकानां कुलस्तथानां मापाणां लवणस्य च।

असोजुरुणं स्नेहं च गन्धं संक्षिप्तमेव च।

Rama. Ut. 91.20.

Sāṅga (cooked pulses) मृष्टान्नानि च सूपाश्च दधिकुल्यास्तर्थव च।

Rama. Bal. 53.3.

C.f. Manu. III. 226.

⁵ शालि वाहृहस्तं च द्वे शते भद्रकास्तथा।

Rama. Ay. 32.20.

⁶ कणकुलमाषपिण्डाकशाकयाद्वकसन्तवः।

तथा मूलफलं भैरवं पर्यिणोपयोजयेत्।

Mbh. Santi. 215.22.

C.f. Mbh. Santi. 36.33.

⁷ Rama. Ay. 91.73; Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

⁸ एडकाश्व खरोद्विणां सूतिकानां गदामणि।

मानुरीणां मृगीणां च न पिबेद् आह्याणः पयः।

Mbh. Santi. 36.25.

Manu prohibits the use of milk of a cow whose milk was not allowed by the Sūtras:—

शेषं गव्यं च पेयूपं प्रवत्त्वेन विवर्जयेत्।६

आनिदंशायाः गोः क्षीरमैऽमैः कशाफं तथा।

आविकं सन्विकीशीरं विवत्सायाद्वच गोः पयः।८

आरप्णानां च सर्वेषां मृगाणां मातिहृषं विना

स्त्रीशीरं चैव वज्ञाणि सर्वशुक्तानि चैव हि।

Manu. V. 6.9.

used to sweeten it and clarified butter to make it more tasteful.¹ Curds² and *Rasalā*, the fine sweet preparation from them, were very popular.³ Buttermilk and clarified butter were also in common use.⁴ Manu lays down that curds and its preparations could be eaten even if they had turned sour.⁵

MEAT DIET

The Kṣatriyas generally took the meat of animals which they killed in hunting.⁶ Rāma and Bharata are said to have

¹ दिव्यपायससम्पूर्णां पात्रों पतनीभिव प्रियाम् ।

Rama, Bal. 16.15.

मोदकैः पायसेनाथ मांसैश्चोपहरेद् वलिम् ।

Mbh. Asv. 65.4.

साज्येन पायसेनैव मधुना मिथितेन च ।

Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.

C.f. Rama, Ay. 75.30, 91.72, 91.69, Mbh. Anu. 136.49, Santi. 36.33.
२ मृष्टाक्षानि च सूपाश्च दधिकुल्यास्तर्वैव च ।

Rama, Bal. 53.3.

घृतं दधि च लाजांश्च दधिजाश्चापि पुष्कलाः ।

Rama, Ay. 3.16.

यावके दधि-मुख्ये च सावित्री कालशोन्दिताम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

Rama, Ay. 91.73, Mbh. Anu. 161.99, Asv. 35.39.

³ यौवनस्थस्य गौरस्थ्य कपित्थस्य सुगन्धिनः ।

Rama, Ay. 91.73.

लक्ष्यः पूर्णा रसालस्य दध्नः इवेतस्य चापरे ।

Mbh. Asv. 89.40.

रसाला कर्दमा नद्योबभूत्वं भैरवतर्पेभः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.73.

अपवत्तकं सव्योयं चतुर्जातिगुडाङ्ककं

सजीरकं रसालं स्यान्मजिज्ञका शिखरिणीः ।

Vaijayanti.

सव्योषम्—शुण्ठी पिपली मरिच युक्तम् ।

चतुर्जातिम्—एला लवङ्ग कम्बोल नाग पुष्पाणि ।

⁴ In the Rama, Ay. 91.73 the word *Kapittha* is used for butter milk.
Sarpī

दधि कुल्याश्च दवृशुः सर्पिष्यश्च हृदान् जनाः ।

Mbh. Asv. 85.39.

Ajya—Mbh. Sabha. 4.2.

Rama, Ay. 3.16, Mbh. Anu. 136.4, Asv. 85.39.

⁵ दधि भक्षयं च शुक्तेषु सर्वं च दधिसंभवम् ।

Manu. V. 10.

C.f. Manu. II. 59, III. 226.

⁶ क्षत्रियाणां तु यो दृष्टो विधिस्तमयि मे शृणु ।

वीर्येणोपार्जितं मासं यथाभृजन्न दुष्यति ।

Mbh. Anu. 116.15.

taken the meat of various kinds of deer in the forest.¹ Meat cooked with rice was probably the favourite dish of Sītā.² Birds and fish were also eaten.³ The food of the Pāṇḍavas in the Kāmyaka forest consisted of many kinds of deer.⁴ The Kṣatriyas were not always in a position to offer it to gods so even un-sanctified meat was allowed to them.⁵ Duryodhana also used to eat rice cooked with flesh.⁶ Damayanti asked her maid-servant to bring meat prepared by her husband.⁷ At the time of marriages many animals were killed and eaten.⁸

As for Brāhmaṇas we know that many animals were killed

न मे तत्र मनस्तापो न मन्युहृशिषुङ्गव
बागुरामिश्च पाशैश्च कूदैश्च विविधैर्नरा: । ३७
यान्ति राजर्बयश्चात्र मृगयां धर्मकोशिदाः । ४०

Rama. Ay. 18. 37.40

¹ ती तत्र हत्वा चतुरो महामृगान् वराहमूर्यं पृष्ठं महारुम्
आदाय मेघं त्वरितं वृभुशिती वासाय काले यथतुवनस्पतिम् ।

Rama. Ay. 52.102.

² सुरा घटसहस्रेण मांसभूतौदनेन च ।
यक्षये त्वां प्रीयतां देवि पुरीं पुनरुपागता ।

Rama. Ay. 52.89.

³ धृतपिण्डोपमान् स्थूलांस्तान् द्विजान् भक्षयिष्यथ ।
रोहितांश्चक्रतुण्डांश्च नलमीनांश्च राघव ।

Rama. Aran. 73.12.

गमनाय मर्ति चके तं प्रोवाच रासरस्वती
न गन्तव्यमितः पुत्रं तवाहारमहं सदा । ३६ ।
दास्यामि मर्त्यप्रवरानुप्यतामिह भारत ।
इत्युक्तस्तर्पयामास स पितॄन् देवतांस्तथा । ५० ।

Mbh. Śalya. 51.39-40.

⁴ वानेयं च मृगाश्चैव शुद्धैर्बाणैर्निपातितान् ।
ब्राह्मणानां निवेद्यामभुञ्जन् पुरुषर्वभाः । ४१ ।
रुहन् कृष्णमृगाश्चैव मेघाश्चान्यान् वने चरान् ।
वाणीरुनमध्य विविधैर्ब्रह्मणेभ्यो न्यवेदयत् । ४१ ।

Mbh. Van. 50.7.

⁵ Mbh. Anu. 116.15, see p. 105, f. n. 6.

⁶ आच्छादयसि प्रावरानश्चासि पितॄतीदनम् ।
अजाने यावहन्त्यश्वाः केनासि हृणिः कृशः ।

Mbh. Sabha. 49.9.

⁷ पुनर्गच्छ प्रमत्तस्य ब्राह्मकस्योपसंस्कृतम् ।
महानसाच्छ्रूतं मांसमानस्वेह भाविनि ।

Mbh. Van. 75.20.

⁸ उच्चावचान् मृगान् जघुमैर्घ्याश्च शतशः पशून् ।
सुरामेरेयपानानि प्रभूतान्यन्यहारयन् ।

Mbh. Virat. 72.28.

at the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhīra.¹ In the palace of Rantideva, it is said, two thousand animals were killed every day and the meat was distributed probably to the Brāhmaṇas.² The Pāṇḍavas offered the meat of animals to Brāhmaṇas.³ On the occasion of a Śrāddha Brāhmaṇas were generally fed with meat diet.⁴ All this shows that a considerable section of this community had no objection to taking nonvegetarian diet. People belonging to other castes, as well, used meat, for it is said to be the food of the rich. The shop of a meat vendor was crowded by a number of purchasers.⁵ But persons observing a vow generally avoided meat diet.⁶

Some other people, who were outside the Aryan influence,

¹ तं तं वेबं समुद्दिष्य पश्चिमः पशवस्त्र ये ।
अप्यभाः शास्त्रपठितास्तथा जलचराश्च ये ।
सर्वैस्तानम्भयुजस्ते तत्राग्निचयकर्मणि ।

Mbh. Asv. 34.88.

भक्षयसांडवरागाणां क्रियतां भुज्यतां तथा
पशूनां वधयतां चैव नान्तं ददूषिरे जनाः ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

² अहन्यहनिवध्येते हृं सहस्रे गवां तथा ।
स मांसं ददतोऽप्यजं रन्तिदेवस्य नित्यकाः ।

Mbh. Van. 208.9.

³ Mbh. Van. 50.7. See p. 106, f. n. 4.

⁴ द्वीपासौ तु भवेत् तुतिर्मत्स्यै पितृगणस्य ह ।
श्रीन्मासानाविकेनाहुरचतुर्मासिं शशेन ह ॥५॥
आजेन मासान् प्रीयन्ते पञ्चचैव पितरो नृप ।
वाराहेण तु धर्माकान् सप्त वै शाकुलेन तु ॥६॥
मासानब्दो पार्यतेन रौरवेण नव प्रभो ।
गवयस्य तु मासेन लृप्तिः स्पादिशमासिकी ॥७॥

आनन्द्याय भवेद्दत्तं खङ्गमासं पितृक्षये ॥१०॥

Mbh. Anu. 88. 5-10.

⁵ आद्यानां मांसं परमं मध्यानां गोरसोत्तरम् ।
तैलोत्तरं दरिद्राणां भोजनं भरतर्त्यभ ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 49-54.

अपश्यत् तत्र गत्वा तं सनामध्ये व्यवस्थितम् ॥१०॥
मार्गमाहिपमांसानि विक्रीणन्तं तपस्विनम् ।
आकुलत्वाच्च ऋत्यामेकान्ते संस्थिती द्विः ।

Mbh. Van. 207. 10-11.

⁶ न मांसं राघवो भुज्यते न चैव मधुं सेवते ।
वन्यं सुविहितं नित्यं भक्तमश्वातिपञ्चवम् ।

Rama. Sundara 36.41.

कन्दमूलफलर्जीवन् हिंसा मूनिबदामिषम्

Rama. Ayo. 20.29.

were very fond of meat preparations. They indulged in unrestricted use of them. We read of so many nonvegetarian dishes in the kitchen of Rāvaṇa while Hidimba relished human flesh.¹

Besides meat roasted on spits, sometimes whole animals were roasted on live charcoals.² Meat soup was very popular.³ Sometimes it was prepared with the addition of curds and salt.⁴ Meat cooked with rice was a favourite dish of some people.⁵ Seasoned meat was also taken. Guha offered it to Bharata; but its daily use is not recommended.⁶

The notion of clean and unclean meat was fully developed in this period.⁷ The three upper classes are allowed only clean

¹ मृगाणां महिपाणां च वराहानां च भागशः।
तत्र न्यस्तानि मांसानि पानभूमौ ददर्श सः। ११।
रौपेषु च विशालेषु भाजनेष्वर्वभक्षितान्।
ददर्श हरिश्चार्दूलो मयूरान् कुकुटांस्तथा। १२।
वराहावाधीणसकान् वधिसौवचलायुतान्।
शल्यान् मृगमयूरांश्च हनुमानन् वर्वक्षतः। १३।

Rama. Sundara. II. 11-18.

भक्षित्वा च मांसानि मानुषाणां प्रकामतः।
नूत्याव सहितावावां दत्ततालावनेकशः।

Mbh. Adi. 152.15.

² See p. 106, f. n. 3 Rama. Aran. 73.12, Rama. Ay. 52.88.

³ आजंस्त्वापि वाराहैनिलान् वर संचयैः।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

प्रतपतिठरैश्चापि मार्यमायुरकीकृदैः।

Rama. Ay. 91.71.

महिपानेकशल्यांश्च छागांश्च कृतनिष्ठितान्।

Rama. Sundara. II. 14.

स्यातेभन् तु निष्ठानम्

Amar. Vaisya. 44.

⁴ Rama. Sund. II. 13. (see p. 108, f. n. 1).

⁵ See p. 106, f. n. 2 and 6.

⁶ आदृं च मांसं शुक्रं वस्यं चोच्चावचं महत्।

Rama. Ay. 84.17.

वर्जयेष्ठुक्मांसं च तथा पर्युपितं च यत्।

Mbh. Anu. 61.98.

⁷ बहून् मेष्यान् मृगान् हत्वा चेरतुर्यमनावने।

Rama. Ay. 55.33.

इवं मेष्यमिवं स्वादु निष्टप्तमिदमिन्नना।

Rama. Ay. 91.2.

विधिना वेद दृष्टेन तद् भूक्तवेह न वृष्यति।

Mbh. Anu. 111.14.

यज्ञावेष्यं पश्यतः सूष्टा इत्यपि शूयते श्रुतिः।

meat. The flesh of porcupine, hare and tortoise was considered clean.¹ Brāhmaṇas are advised to avoid the flesh of many unclean animals.² Those who took beef or flesh of dogs were looked down upon in society.³ Even dealing in meat is considered improper.⁴ Some Brāhmaṇas completely avoided meat diet while others took only dedicated meat.⁵ But to save life use of even unclean meat was permitted.⁶ In some verses of the Mahābhārata it is laid down that animals should be killed only for sacrifices.⁷ But later it is said that animals should not be killed even in sacrifices and only food grains should be offered instead.⁸ Now the ideal was that all those who wish to lead a

¹ पञ्च पञ्चनसा भक्षया अङ्गाक्षत्रेण राघव ।

शाल्यकः इवाविदो गोधा शाश्वः कूर्मश्च पञ्चमः ।

Rama. Kisk. 17.39.

² अग्नद्वावान् मृत्तिका चैव तथा क्षुद्रपिपीलिकाः ।

इलेमातकस्तथा विश्रैरभक्षणं विषमेव च ।

अभक्षया ग्राह्यार्थमत्स्याः शालक्येवं विवजिताः ।

चतुष्पात् कच्छपादन्यो मञ्जूका जलजात्म चे ।

.....
क्षयादा दण्डिणः सर्वे चतुष्पात् पक्षिणश्च ये ।

येवां चोभयतो दन्ताश्चतुर्दण्डाश्च सर्वशः । २४

Mbh. Santi. 36. 21-24.

³ Beef—Mbh. Karna. 44.11 See p. 104, f. n. 1.

शवमांस नियता हाराः मुटिका नाभ निर्वृणाः ।

Rama. Bal. 59.19.

⁴ लक्षया मधुमांसेन लोहेन च विषेण च ।

सर्वैव विभूताद् भृत्यान् यस्यार्योन्मुते गतः ।

Rama. Ay. 75.38.

⁵ King Brahmadatta was cursed by a Brāhmaṇa for serving him food mixed with meat dishes.

Rama. Uttara. 59.

अप्रोक्षितं बृथामांसं विधिहीनं न भक्षयेत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 115.44.

⁶ शृगालादधमं इवान् प्रबद्धित मनीषिणः ।

तस्याप्यधम उद्देशः शरीरस्य इवजागरी ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.57.

समी च शवमृगीमन्ये तस्माद् भोक्ष्ये इवजागरी ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.57.

मूलं रक्षयं भक्षयिष्याम्यभक्षयम् ।

Mbh. Santi. 141.79.

⁷ Mbh. Anu. 111.14 see p. 108, f. n. 7.

⁸ बीजीर्यज्ञेषु यज्ञव्यमिति वैदिकी श्रुतिः ।

आज संज्ञानि बीजानि चाचानि नो ग्रह्यं ।

Mbh. Santi. 337.5.

virtuous life should avoid meat diet.¹

In the Manusmṛti we find three views about the use of meat. In some of its portions we find a conditional permission for the use of meat. It could be consumed when the animal was killed for Brāhmaṇas.² Animal food was to be used also in *madruparka*, sacrifices, Srāddhas and worshipping gods.³ In the Srāddhas specially the use of meat seems to have been common for we are given various periods upto which the fore-fathers remain satisfied with fish and the flesh of goats, gazelles, kids, spotted deer, black antelope, *ruru* deer, boars, buffaloes, hares, tortoises, *vārdbrīñjasa*, rhinoceros and birds.⁴ But, as in the Aśokan edicts, there is a list of animals and birds whose flesh was

¹ लृपमध्यज्ञतामायुर्बुद्धिः सत्वम् बलम् स्मृतिम्
प्राप्तकामैनंरहिंसा वर्जिता वै महात्मभिः।

Mbh. Santi. 337.8.

² प्रोक्षितं भक्षयेन्मार्गं ब्राह्मणानां च काम्यया।
यथाविधि नियुक्तस्तु प्राणानामेव चात्यये।

Manu. V. 27.

³ यज्ञार्थं ब्राह्मणैर्बृद्धयाः प्रशस्ता मृगपक्षिणः।
भूत्यादिनां चैव वृत्यर्थमगस्त्यो ह्याश्रत् पुरा। २२।
वभूद्युर्हि पुरोडासा भक्षयाणां मृगपक्षिणाम्।
पुराणेष्वपि यज्ञेषु ब्रह्मात्मवस्तेषु च। २३।
प्राणस्थानमिदं सर्वं प्रजापतिरकल्पयत्।
स्थावरं वज्रम् चैव सर्वं प्राणस्थ भीजनम्। २४।
यज्ञाय जटिधर्मासास्थैष दैवो विधिः स्मृतः।
अतोन्मया प्रवृत्तिस्तु राक्षसो विधिरच्यते। २५।
मध्येषु च यज्ञे च पितृवत्कर्मणि
प्रत्रेव पश्चात् हिंस्या नान्यथेत्यअवीच्यमनः। ४१।
एष्वयोर्यु पशूनर्हिंसा वेदतत्त्वार्थविद् द्विजः।
आत्मानं च पशुं चैव गमयत्युत्तमाम् गतिम्। ४२।

Manu. V. 22, 23, 28, 31, 41-42

⁴ द्वौ मासी मत्स्यं मांसेन व्रीमात्तान् हारिणेन तु।
भीरञ्जेणास्य चतुरः शाकुनेनाथं पक्षच वै। २६।८।
पण्डांसिद्धागमांसेन पार्वतेन च सत् वै।
अष्टावेणस्य मांसेन दीरेण नवैवतु। २६।९।
दशमासांस्तु तृप्त्यन्ति वराहमहिलामिधिः।
शशकूर्मवोत्तु मांसेन मासानेकादशैव तु। २७।०।
संबलसरं तु गव्येन पश्चात् पायतेन च।
वार्षीणसस्य मांसेन तृप्तिर्वादिशवार्षिकी। २७।१।
वालशाकमहाशल्काः खड्ग लोहार्मिष्य मधुः।
प्राणनन्यार्थैव कल्पते मनुष्मानि च सर्वयाः। २७।२।

Manu. III. 268-272.

to be avoided.¹ Students were generally not allowed meat diet.² Then there are portions of the Manusmṛti in which meat eating is completely prohibited as it involved killing of animals.³ Meat is called the diet of Rākṣasas.⁴ The third view in the Manusmṛti strikes a compromise between the two extremes for we are told that meat eating is a natural craving of men but its avoidance brings great merit.⁵ According to Buhler the rules against the use of meat diet are a later interpolation but it would be perhaps more proper to say that these new rules came in imperceptibly with the change in the outlook of the people as a result of the teachings of the Buddha, Mahāvīra and perhaps also Aśoka.

¹ क्रत्यादाश्चकुनान् सर्वांस्तथा ग्रामनिवासिनः।
अनिदिष्टाश्चैवकशाकालिद्विभं च विवर्जयेत् । ११।
कलविच्छलवं हंसं चक्राहव ग्रामकुकुटम्।
सारसं रज्जुबालं च दारयूहे शुकसारिके । १२।
प्रतुदान् जालपादाश्च कोदण्डं नखविच्छिरान्।
निमज्जतश्च मत्स्यादान्वीनं बल्लूरमेव च । १३।
वकं चैव बलाकाश्च काकोलं खण्डरीटकम्।
मत्स्यान् चिढं वराहाश्च मत्स्यानेव च सर्वतः । १४।
यो यस्य मांसमङ्गाति स तन्मांसाद उच्यते ।
मत्स्याः सर्वमांसादस्तस्मान् मत्स्यान् विवर्जयेत् । १५।
पाठीनरोहितावच्छी नियुक्तो हृष्यकव्ययोः
राजीवान् सिंहतुण्डाश्च सशलकांश्च सर्वतः । १६।
इवाविष्णु शल्यकं गोधां शहृग् कूर्मं शशांस्तथा ।
भक्ष्यान् पञ्चवन्धेष्वद्वृत्तुष्ट्री श॒चैकतोवतः । १७।

Manu. V. 11-18.

² अद्युचारी तु योऽनीयान्मधुमांसं कथमन्वन ।

Manu. XI. 158.

³ नाकृत्वा प्राणिनां हिंसा मांसमुत्पद्धते कवचित्
न च प्राणिवधः स्वर्घस्तस्मान् मांसं विवर्जयेत् ।

Manu. V. 48.

कर्त्ते वर्षेऽश्वमेधेन यो यजेत् शतं समाः।
मांसानि च न खादेश्वस्तयोः पुर्यकर्ल समम् ।

Manu. V. 53.

⁴ यश रक्षः पिशाचान्नं मर्यां मांसं सुरासवम्
तद् ब्राह्मणेन नात्तव्यम् देवानामशनता हृषिः ।

Manu. V. 95.

⁵ न मांसं भक्षणे दोषो न मद्दो न च भैश्चुने ।
प्रवृत्तिरेषा भूतानां निवृत्तिस्तु महापाला ।

Manu. V. 56.

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey continued to be used especially with parched rice.¹ But its daily use is interdicted.² Sugarcane was used in making *guḍa* which was used in the preparation of many sweets.³ Another product of sugarcane juice in common use was sugar both clarified and raw.⁴ Common sweets were *apūpa*, *pājasa* (milk-rice), *sanyāsa*, *kṛṣṇa*, *madbulājāb* and *modakas* (sweet balls).⁵ Some good quality sweets are called *Khaṇḍava* and *Uccāvacabbakṣya* in the epics.⁶

¹ इक्षुन् मधूस्तया लाजान् भैरेयादिच वरासवान् ।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

मांतप्रतिप्रहे चैव मधुनो लवणस्य च ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.5.

See p. 103, f. n. 1.

² दधिगक्तुष्ट दोपायां पिबेन्मधु च गित्यशः ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.99.

³ *Ibid.*—Rama. Bal. 53.2, Ay. 91.156. Mbh. Anu. 136.8.

भोजनानि सुपूर्णानि गोडानि च सहस्राः ।

Rama. Bal. 53. 4.

विविधानि च गोडानि स्ताण्डवानि तथैव च ।

Rama. Uttara. 92.12.

⁴ *Sarkara*

वभूवः पद्यसद्वान्ये शर्कराणां च संचयः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.73.

⁵ *Apūpa*—See p. 103, f. n. 2.

Pājasa—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Sanyāsa—See p. 103, f. n. 2.

Kṛṣṇa—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Madbulājāb—*Ibid.*

Modaka—

नरा मोदकहस्ताद्य राभस्य पुरतो युः ।

Rama. Yuddha. 131.38.

रसालापूपकाश्चित्रान् मोदकानय खाण्डवान् ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.18.

Rama. Bal. 10. 19-20.

Modakas were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour fried in clarified butter mixed with sugar, some aromatic spices and thin slices of the kernel of cocoanut.

⁶ *Khaṇḍava*

नाना स्वाहुरसानां च लाञ्छवानां तथैव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.4.

विविधानि च गोडानि खाण्डवानि तथैव च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.18.

भक्ष्य खाण्डवरागाणां क्रियतां भूज्यतां तथा ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

Uccāvacabbakṣya—Rama. Bal. 53.2, Ay. 61.14, Kisk. 33.7, 37.7, Sundam. 62.9.

SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

It appears that besides ordinary salt, *sauvaracala*, *vîda* and black salt were in common use, but the use of *vîda* and black salt is interdicted in a *Srâddha*.¹ It is laid down that a Brâhmaṇa should not deal in salt² and people should avoid eating salt in the palms of their hands or at night.³ Other articles used for seasoning food were pepper, cumin, asafoetida, aloes, nutmeg and probably also coriander, mustard and ginger.⁴ They were also used in preparing a stuffing (*vesavâra*).⁵ It appears that two condiments, *Sâpa*, and *Nîshbâna*, which were prepared with fruit juices, were very much liked in Ayodhyâ.⁶

OILSEEDS AND OILS

Sesamum continued to be used as an offering to the fore-

¹ *Sauvaracala*—Rama. Sundara. 11.13.

कृष्णाजागी विडवचैव वर्जयेलवद्यत्वं सर्वम् ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

² मुरालवणमित्येव तिलान् केसरिणः पश्चून्

एतेषां विशेषात्मात् आह्मणो न रक्तं ब्रजेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 78.4-5.

³ न पाणी लवणं विद्वान् प्राशनीयात् च रात्रिषु ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.99.

⁴ Pepper (*marica*)

पुष्पाणि च तमालस्य गुल्मानि मरिचस्य च ।

Rama. Aranya. 35.22-23.

Cumin (*ajîjî*)—Mbh. Anu. 91.39-41.

Asafoetida (*Hinga*)

हिंग इव्येषु शाकेषु पत्ताण्डुं लशुनं तथा ।

Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

Aloes (*agñîn*)—अगुरुणां च मूरुषानां च नन्युपवनानि च ।

तक्कोलानां च जात्यानि कलानां च सुगन्धिनाम् ।

Rama. Aranya. 25.22.

Punnâga (*nâgakesara* in Hindi) Rama. Uttara 42.33.

Nutmeg (*Jâhi*) Rama. Aranya. 25.22.

⁵ वेसवारविकारांश्च पानकानि लघूनि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.17.

⁶ कलनिधीरूहसंसिद्धैः सूर्येन्वरतसान्वितैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

भूत्वा विशालाक्षी सूर्यदंशान्वितम् शुभम् ।

वन्यं नैवारमाहारं कर्यं सीतीपभोक्यते ।

Rama. Ay. 61.5.

fathers¹ and for extracting oil, which was used for frying food articles by poor people.² Oilcake was used as an article of food by the ascetics.³

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

From the epics we know that the hermits generally lived on fruits, roots and tubers.⁴ The fruits in common use in the forests were jujube, *kāsmarya*; *inguda* (*Terminalia catappa*), *bballātaka* (marking nut), *plakṣa*, *asvattha* and *pili*.⁵ In the cities such as Ayodhya, *bilya*, *kapittha*, bread fruit, citrus fruit, emblem my-

¹ Mbh. Vana. 190.44.

पितॄणां परमं भोजयं तिलाः सृष्टाः स्वयंभूवा।

तिलदानेन वै तस्मात् पितॄपक्षः प्रमोदते।

Mbh. Anu. 66.7.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 88.3, 68.18, 136.8, Santi. 345.16.

² Mbh. Udyoga. 49.34.

³ कण्ठकुलमाषपिण्डाकशाकयावकसक्तवः।

तथा मूलफलं भैक्यं पर्वयेणोपयोजयेत्।

Mbh. Santi. 215.22.

⁴ कन्दमूलफलैर्जीवन् हित्वा मुनिवदाभिपम्।

फलमूलाशानं निरत्य वानरं वनगोचरम्।

Rama. Ay. 20.29.

फलमूलं च बुभूजे राशा वर्त्तं सहानुजः।

Rama. Kisk. 17.25.

⁵ कलानि च विचित्राणि राजभोग्यानि भूरिशः।

बद्रेऽङ्गदकाशमर्यभल्लातकफलानि च।

Mbh. Asrama. 26.38.

बद्रेऽङ्गदकाशमर्यलक्षावत्त्वविभीतकैः।

Mbh. Anu. 53.19.

काञ्छोलेश्च पताशैश्च करीतः पीलुभिस्तथा।

Mbh. Salya. 37.61-62.

C.f. Mbh. Vana. 178.8.

Kāsmarya

काष्मर्यरिष्टवृहणीमधूकैस्तिलकैस्तथा।

Rama. Ay. 94. 8-9.

वद्यमिलकैन्पिवेत्रघन्वन्वीजकैः।

Mbh. Anu. 53.19, Salya. 37. 61-62.

Inguda—Mbh. Salya 37. 61-62.

Vibhītaka—Ibid.

Plakṣa—Mbh. Salya. 37. 61-62.

Asvattha—Ibid.

Pili—Ibid.

Syñgūtaka—

अङ्गुराशास्तथा वज्र्यां इह पूर्णाटकानि च।

Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

lobalan, plantain, rose apple, pomegranates and mangoes were used.¹ As stated before some of these fruits were used in preparing condiments.² Stalks and roots of lotus³ were used as vegetables with other vegetables such as long bottle gourd and *kovidāra*.⁴ From the Mahābhārata it appears that garlic, onions and mushrooms were not eaten by respectable persons.⁵ It lays down that a man desirous of glory should not eat the fruits of a fig tree, *pippala*, *vāta* and *udumbara* trees and the leaves

¹ *Bilva*—Rama, Ay. 91.30, 94.8, Mbh. Vana. 117.23, Salya. 37.63, Vana, 117.23.

Kapittba—Rama, Ay. 91.30.

Panasa (bread fruit)—Rama, Ay. 91.30.

Bijapīraka (citrus fruit)—Rama, Aranya 15.

Amalaka (emblic myroblan) Rama, Ay. 91.30.

Nārikela—Rama, Aranya, 35.

Kadali—Plantain.

कदलीवन् भूयिष्ठे कान्तं मनोहरम् ।

वाटवस्तुफलपणिदै वन्तोलू खलिकरपि ।

Mbh. Salya. 37.64.

Rama, Kisk. 13, Mbh. Salya, 36.64, Rama, Aranya 1.2.

Jambū—(rose apple)

आम्रजन्मृ वसनैर्लोक्यैः प्रियालैः पनसैः धैः ।

अङ्गोलैर्भव्यतिनिश्च विलचतिरुक्तवेणुभिः ।

Rama, Ay. 94.8.

जम्बूभिर्द्विभैश्चैव कोविदारैश्च शोभिताम् ।

Rama, Ut. 42.5.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.41.

Dādima (pomegranate)—Rama, Ut. 42.5.

Priyāla—Mbh. Van. 40. 2-5, Ram. Ay. 98.8.

Mango (*Citrus*)

उद्धानाम्बवणीपेताम् ।

Rama, Bal. V. 17.

तस्मिन् बिल्वा: कर्पिरथाश्च पनसा वीजपूरकाः आमलकयो वभूदृश्च चूलाश्च कलभूषणाः

Rama, Ay. 91.30.

Āmrātaka कहयकवरैश्चैव बिल्वैराग्रातकैस्तथा ।

अतिमुकुतकपण्डैष्वच पारिजातैश्च शोभिताम् । ६३ ।

Mbh. Salya. 37.63.

Bhāuya—Rama, Ay. 94. 8.

² See p. 113, f. n. 6.

³ देवस्य तीर्थे जलमन्मिकलपा विगाहृते भुवतविसप्रसूनाः । ७।

केचिद् विसान्यलनं स्त्रूप राजनन्ये मृगालान्यस्त्रविप्राः । ८।

Mbh. Anu. 94. 7-8.

⁴ See p. 116, f. n. 2.

⁵ *Palāñgha* (onions)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38.

Latma (garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.38, Karna. 44.17.

Grījana (red garlic)—Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

of hemp.¹ The use of long bottle gourd, *Kālaśāka*, *Ślesmātaka*, *sudarśana*, leaves of bamboo or *karīra* is interdicted in a *Śrāddha*.²

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the Rāmāyaṇa we learn that drinking was common in Ayodhyā. After the departure of Rāma, the city has been compared to a tavern deserted by drunkards.³ The same inference can be deduced from the remark of Bharata on the absence of aroma of *Vārunī* after the death of Daśaratha.⁴ Sītā herself enjoyed *Maireyaka* variety of wine⁵ and promised to worship the river goddess with a thousand pitchers of wine.⁶ The non-Aryan tribes of the Rākṣasas⁷ and the Vānaras were, no doubt, addicted to drinking. The conditions described in the Mahābhārata are worse.⁸ Kṛṣṇa is said to have enjoyed drinking freely with Arjuna.⁹ We are told that the Yādavas were killed in a

¹ पिण्डत् च वर्टं चैव शणशाकं तथैव च।
उदुम्बरं न खादेच्च भवार्थी पुरुषोनपु।

Mbh. Anu. 161.97.

² *Kūṭmāndūla* (pumpkin gourd) Mbh. Anu. 91.39.

Kālaśāka—Mbh. Anu. 88.10.

Ślesmātaka—Rama. Bal. 14, Mbh. Van. 134. 28.

सौभाग्यज्ञः कोविदारस्तथा गृज्जनकादयः।

कूमारण्ड जात्यलाबुद्ध्वं कृष्णं लवणमेव च।

Mbh. 91.39.

निवापे हृष्य कव्ये वा गहितं च सुदर्शनम्।

Mbh. Anu. 91.42.

C.f. Mbh. Anu. 91.41. See p. 114, f. n. 5.

³ क्षीण पानोदामैभिन्नः शराबैरभिसंबृताम्।

हतशौण्डभिवाकाशे पानभूमिभसंस्कृताम्

Rama. Ay. 114.14.

⁴ वारणीभिदगन्धश्च माल्यगच्छश्च मूर्च्छितः।

Rama. Ay. 114.20.

⁵ सीतामादाय हृस्तेन मधुमैरेयकंशुनि।

Rama. Ut. 42.18.

⁶ मुराघटसहस्रेण मांसभूतीदनेन च

Rama. Ay. 52. 89.

यद्यपे त्वां श्रीयतां देवि पुरीं पुनरुपागता।

यद्यपे त्वां श्रीयतां देवि पुरीं पुनरुपागता।

Rama. Ay. 50.20.

⁷ Rama. Sundara. 11. 22-23.

⁸ Rama. Kiskindha. 30.79, 33.39, 33.7.

⁹ उभौ भव्यासवक्षीणावुभौ चक्षनश्यितौ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 59.5.

drinking brawl.¹ The Aśvamedha sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhīra has been compared to a sea of liquor.² Virtuous ladies, like Sudeṣṇā drank wine.³ Some of them drank so hard that they could not walk straight.⁴

But even the Kṣatriyas, who were so much addicted to drinking, regarded it as an evil. Daśaratha tells Kaikeyī that if he banished Rāma people would look down upon him as they look down upon a Brāhmaṇa who was addicted to drinking.⁵ Bharata also considers it a sin.⁶ Even dealing in liquor is considered improper for Brāhmaṇas.⁷ Drinking is frequently condemned⁸ and those who were accustomed to drinking liquor prepared from molasses were looked down upon in society.⁹

¹ अद्य प्रभृति सर्वेषु बृज्यमधककुलेभिः।
सुरासवो न कर्त्तव्यः सर्वे न गरवासिभिः।

Mbh. Maus. 16.29.

² एवं ब्रह्मूव यज्ञः स धर्मराजस्य धीमतः।
ब्रह्मसन्धनरत्नौषः सुरामैरेयसागरः।

Mbh. Asv. 89.39.

³ उत्तिष्ठ चच्छ सैरनिष्ठ्र कीचकस्य निवेशनम्।
पानमानय कल्याणिण विपासा मां प्रवाप्ते।

Mbh. Virat. 15.10.

⁴ हित्रयश्च विपुलश्चोप्यश्चारुपीनपयोधराः।
मदस्त्वलिलतगमिन्यस्त्विद्यु विमलोचनाः।

Mbh. Adi. 222.21.

⁵ विकरिष्यति रथ्यामु सुरार्प ब्राह्मणं यथा।
मध्ये प्रसक्तो भवतु यस्यार्थोनुभूते गतः।

Rama. Ay.

⁶ सुरालबणमित्येष तिलान् केतरिणः पवून।
एतेषां विक्रयात्तात्र ब्राह्मणो नरकं ब्रजेत्।

Rama. Ay. 75.41.

⁷ सुरापानं ब्रह्महृत्या गुरुत्लपमथापि वा।
अनिर्देश्यानि मन्यन्ते प्राणान्तमितिधारणा।

Mbh. Santi. 78. 4-5.

⁸ यो ब्राह्मणोऽय प्रभृतीह कश्चित् भोहात्युरां पास्पति मन्ददुष्टिः।
अपेतधर्मी ब्रह्मणा चैव स स्यादस्मिल्लोके गर्हितः स्यात्परे च।

Mbh. Adi. 76. 67.

C.f. Mbh. Asv. 51.18, Santi. 165.10, 34.20.

⁹ Mbh. Karna. 44.11. See (7) above.

सुरा वैमलमधानां पाप्मा च मलमच्यते।
तस्माद् ब्राह्मणराजन्यो वैश्यश्च न सुरोऽपि वेद्।
गीढी पैष्टी च माष्डी च विजेया चिरिद्धा सुरा।
यथैवेका तथा सर्वा न पातव्या द्विजोत्तमैः।

Manu. XI. 94-95.

The Rāmāyaṇa mentions two varieties of *Surā* ordinary and the fermented one.¹ *Kīlāla*² was also used in this period, but *Maireya* seems to be the most popular drink. It was the favourite drink of Sītā and was served to guests at a wedding,³ and by sage Bhāradvāja to the party of Bharata. *Vāruṇī* was prepared from the juice of plum fruits and dates and was a common drink in Ayodhyā, as Bharata was surprised to find the city without its aroma after the departure of Rāma to the forest.⁴ It was a very strong drink as it brought about unconsciousness as soon as it was drunk.⁵ *Āsava* was another intoxicating drink in which the main ingredients were *Kapittba* (*Feronia elephantum*), five hundred *palas* of *phāmita* and one *prastha* of honey.⁶ Four varieties of *āsavas* are mentioned—one prepared from flowers, the second from fruits, the third from honey and the fourth from sugar.⁷ An *āsava* in which *surā* was used in place of water was

¹ *Surā*—Rama. Ay. 52. 89, 55.20, 91.21., Mbh. Mans. 16.29, Asv. 89.39, 51.18, Adi. 76.67, Santi. 78.4, 165.34, Virat. 15.7.

Kṛta surā (fermented *surā*)—Rama. Sundara 11.12.

दिव्याः प्रसन्ना विविधाः सुराः कृतसुरा अपि

शक्तरासवमाघ्वीकाः पुष्पासवफलसवाः।

Rama. Sundara. 11.22-23.

Cream of *surā* is called *Madirā*. (Mbh. Sapti. 24.20).

² कीलालजं न खाद्येऽ करिष्ये चासुरजटम्।

Mbh. Van. 257.17.

³ मेरेयमस्यमांसानि पानकानि मधुनि च।

चिभान् भव्यविकारांश्च चक्षुस्तस्य यथा पुरा।

Mbh. Asrama, I. 21.

C.f. Rama. Ut. 42.18, Ay. 91.70, Mbh. Asv. 89.39, Virat. 72.28.

इकून् मधूस्तथा लाजान् मेरेयांश्च वरासवान्।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

अन्याः लबन्तु मेरेयं सुरामन्याः सुनिष्ठिताम्।

Rama. Ay. 91.15.

मेरेयमासवो धानी धातकी गुडवारिभिः।

Vaijayantī.

⁴ Rāmā Ay. 114.20 See p. 116, f.n. 4.

Rama. Yuddha. 34.8.

⁵ मां मोहयति दुष्टारमा पीतमादेव चारणी।

⁶ See Ch. IV. Sec. 1, p. 96, f. n. 1.

⁷ *Puspāsava*—generally prepared from *Madbilika* flowers—Rama. Sund. 11.23, Mbh. Virat. 16.3, calls it *Mādbayī*.

एहित्र मया सार्द्धं पिब मधु माघवीम्।

Mbh. Virat. 16.3.

See p. 118, f. n. 1.

Phalāsava—It was generally prepared from dates—Rama. Sund. 11.23.

called *Surāsava*.¹ The main ingredients of *Prasannā*² variety are twelve *ādbakas* of flour, five *prasthas* of ferment with some spices and bark and fruit of *Putraka*. *Diyā* was prepared from the bark of *Kadamba* trees.³ *Sidbu*, which was the daily drink of the non-Aryans, was distilled from the juice of sugarcane and *dbātaki* flowers.⁴ Another strong drink was prepared with *Madbhāka* flowers.⁵

OTHER BEVERAGES

In the *Mahābhārata* water is considered to be the best of beverages.⁶ Drinking water was brought from some natural sources such as water-falls, springs or rivers.⁷ It was also brought from some artificial sources such as wells, reservoirs and tanks.⁸ Water, which had the fragrance of lotus, of rivers and which was clear, cool, health giving, and shining like silver, was considered good for drinking.⁹ It is laid down that

Madhvāsava—It was prepared from honey. Ram. Sund. 11.23, Mbh. Udyoga, 59.5.

Sarkardāsava—It was prepared from red sugar. Rama. Sund. 11.23.

¹ *Surāsava*—Mbh. Maus. 16.29 See p. 117, f. n. 1.

² See p. 118, f. n. 1.

Rama. Sundara. 11.22-23, See Ch. IV. Sec. 1, p. 95, f. n. 7.

Kaut. II. 25.18.

³ Rama. Sundara. 11.23.

⁴ सोऽपश्यच्छात्कुम्भानि सीधोरणिमयानि च।

चन्दनस्य च शीतस्य सीधोर्णुरस्य च।

Rama. Sundara. 11.26.

Gaudyāsava (prepared from guḍa) is mentioned in the Mbh. Karna. 44.11.

⁵ See p. 118, f. n. 7.

⁶ द्रवाणां चैव सर्वेषां पेयानामाप उत्तमाः।

Mbh. Asv. 44.10.

⁷ जलप्रपातैहृदभेदैनिध्यन्दैश्च ववचित् ववचित्।

Rama. Ay. 94.13.

⁸ निर्जलेषु च देशेषु खानयामासु गृहमान्।

उदपानान् बहु विधान् वेदिकापरिमण्डितान्।

Rama. Ay. 80.12.

पानीयं परमं दानं दानानां मनुरद्रवीत्।

तस्मात् कूपाश्वापीश्च तटाकानि च खानयेत्।

Mbh. Anu. 100.3.

⁹ पश्यगन्धि शिवं वारि सुखं शीतमनामयम्।

उद्धृत्य स तद्विलङ्घं ख्यासकटिकसञ्चिभम्।

अथ पुष्करपर्णेन लक्ष्मणः पाययिष्यति।

Rama. Aranya. 73.17-18.

one desirous of lustre should not drink water at night.¹ Besides water many other beverages were prepared at the time of feasts. Some of them were prepared from foodgrains or flour.² Some times fruit juices were used as syrups.³ A preparation of juices from fruits such as pomegranates and raisins was called *rāga*, if it was liquid in form, and *sādava*, if the juices were reduced to a thick consistency.⁴

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

From the epics we learn that food was cooked in kitchens, by efficient cooks expert in cooking different dishes and was served by waiters, who were well dressed.⁵ The preparation of *Saskūti*, *rasālā*, *rāga* and *sādava* shows a high stage of develop-

¹ पानीयस्य क्रिया नक्तं न कार्या भूतिभिन्नता ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.128.

² पानानि च महाहर्षिण भक्षयाद्वैच्छवावचानपि ।

Rama. Bal. 53.2.

वेस्वारविकारांश्च पानकानि लघूनि च ।

Mbh. Anu. 53.17.

प्रतिपानलहृदान् पूर्णन् सरोष्टुगजवाजिनाम् ।

Rama. Ay. 91.78.

नानाविधान्नरत्नान् वन्दमूलफलाश्रयान् ।

Rama. Ay. 54.18.

ब्रीही पुष्टे फले चैव जले पिष्टमये तथा ।

Mbh. Anu. 136.9.

³ नानास्वादुरसानां च खाण्डवानां तथैव च ।

Rama. Bal. 53.4.

फल निर्बूहं संसिद्धैः सूर्यंन्वरसान्वितैः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.67.

⁴ तथान्मल लवणोत्तंसै विविदै रागधारैः ।

Rama. Sundara. 11.18.

भक्ष्यखाण्डवरागाणां क्रियतां भुज्यतां तथा ।

Mbh. Asv. 41.89.

सिता मध्वादि मधुरो द्राक्षादाढिमजो रसः ।

Sundara. 11.18.

विरलस्वेत्कृतो रागस्सान्द्रश्चेत् याडवः ।

Mbh. Mans. 2.

Govindaraja quotes 'Pradipa' on Rama.

⁵ महानतेषु सिद्धेषु संस्कृतेऽतीव भारत । आहौर्यमाणे वृष्टयो व्यदृश्यन्त सहृष्टाः ।

आरालिकाः सूपकारा रागखांडविकास्तथा ।

Mbh. Asr. 19.1.

उपतिष्ठन्त राजानं धूतराष्ट्रं पुरा यथा ।

स्वतंकृतश्च पुरुषा ज्ञाहाणान् पर्वतेषयन् ।

उपासुते च तानन्ये सुमृष्टविजिकुण्डलाः ।

Rama. Bal. 14.18.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 12.95, Ut. 92.6.

ment in the art of cooking.¹ Lakṣmaṇa used to cook food for Rāma and Sītā in the forest.² Royal princes like Bhīma and Nala had attained great skill in the art of cooking. Nala could prepare fine dishes in no time.³ Meat was also dressed in various ways.⁴

The rich generally used utensils of gold, silver, or precious stones while the middle class used utensils of other metals and the poor used utensils of clay or leaves.⁵ The common utensils were water jars, dishes, pans, pitchers, drinking cups, cooking pots and boilers.⁶ Manu prescribes that utensils of stone should

¹ *Saṅkuli*—See p. 103, f. n. 1.

Rasālā—See p. 105, f. n. 3.

Rāga—See p. 120, f. n. 4.

Sādava—*Ibid.*

² Rama. Aranya. 73. 12-14.

³ Mbh. Virata. 10. 17.

अशिष्टमेव यस्तस्य पानीयं चरुदृगतम् ।

काष्ठान्यपितामनीनि स्वयं प्रज्वलितानि च ।

अणाज्ञ भोजनैस्तेस्तर्णिष्पञ्चं दिव्यमेव च ।

एतद् दूष्क्वा महाश्चर्यं ततरचाहमिहागता ।

Mbh. Vana. 75. 395-396.

⁴ See p. 108, f. n. 2—6.

⁵ न्युर्विदानि च पात्राणि शातकुभमयानि च ।

स्थाल्यः कुम्भः करम्भश्च दधिपूरणः सुसंस्कृताः ।

Rama. Ay. 91.72.

पटान् पात्री कटाहानि कलशान् वर्धमानकान् ।

नहि किञ्चित् असीर्वमपव्यवसुधाधिपाः ।

Mbh. 85.30.

⁶ *Bhṛigūra* (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Ghata (water jar)—Mbh. Asv. 85.30.

Kumbha (a pitcher)—Rama. Ay. 91.72.

Lauḥī (iron pans)—Rama. Ay. 91.69.

Pōtri (a dish)—Rama. Ay. 91.71., Mbh. 85.30.

Kapabā (a frying pan)—Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Pipbara (a boiler)—Rama. Ay. 91.71.

Vardhamānaka—a kind of dish.

See p. 121, f. n. 5. Mbh. Asv. 85.30.

C.f. Mbh. Asv. 65.15.

Karambhī (a vessel for storing liquids)

See p. 121, f. n. 5. Rama. Ay. 91.72.

Karaka (a water pot).

be cleaned with ashes, of gold and silver only with water, of other metals with alkaline substances. Wooden implements were cleaned with warm water and earthenware with another burning¹.

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

Great importance was attached to the fulfilment of the duty of hospitality in the epics.² A Brāhmaṇa, who maintained himself on the gleanings of corn, starves himself to death to feed a guest.³ In the Rāmāyaṇa even the hermits extend hospitality to Rāma and Bharata wherever they went.⁴ Manu goes to the extent of saying that if a Brāhmaṇa stays unhonoured in one's house he takes away all his merit, however, self sacrificing he may have been.⁵ According to him one who cooks for himself

ततः पात्रीः सकरका बहुरूपा मनोरमाः। भूंगाराणि कटाहानि कलशान् वध्वंमानकान्।
बहूनि च विचित्राणि भाजनानि सहस्राः।

Mbh. Asv. 65, 14-15.

Sthāṇī (a cooking pot)

स्थाल्याः कण्ठेऽथ संलग्नं शाकाद्यं वीक्ष्य केशवः।

Mbh. Van. 263, 24.

¹ तैजसानां भजीनां च सर्वस्याशम्यस्य च।

भस्माऽद्विरुद्धं चैव शुद्धिरुक्ता भजीयिति। १११।

निलेपं काङ्क्षनं भाष्मदभिरेव विशुद्धयति।

अवृज्यमशम्यं चैव राजतं चानुपस्थितम्। ११२।

अपावग्नेश्च संयोगाद्यैवं रोप्य च निर्वर्गी।

तस्मात्तयोः स्वयोन्येव निणेको गुणवत्तरः। ११३।

ताभ्रायकांस्यरैत्यानां त्रपुषः सीसकर्त्त्वं च।

शीर्चं यथाहैं कर्तव्यं आराम्लोदक वारिभिः। ११४।

द्रवाणां चैव सर्वेणां शुद्धिरुक्त्यवनं स्मृतम्।

प्रोक्षणं संहतानां च दारवाणां च तक्षणम्। ११५।

Manu. V. 111-115.

² अप्रोचोद्योतितिः सायं सूर्योङ्गी गृहमेधिना।

काले प्राप्तस्त्वकाले वा नास्यानश्नन् गृहे वसेत्।

Manu. III. 105.

तोयपूर्वं प्रदायान्नमतिथिम्यो विशापते

पश्चाद् भृत्यात् मेधावी नाप्यन्यमना नरः।

Mbh. Anu. 161, 102.

³ Mbh. Asv. 90.

⁴ Rama, Bal. 52 and 53, Ay. 91.

⁵ शिलामव्युक्तितो निर्वयं पञ्चाग्नीनपि नुह्वतः। १००।

सर्वं सुकृतमादत्ते ब्राह्मणोऽनितितो वसन्।

न वै स्वयं तदशीलीयादतिथिं यद्य भोजयेत्। १०६।

घन्यं यशस्यमायुष्यं स्वर्णं चातिथि भोजनम्।

Manu. III. 100, 106.

is a sinner.¹

Besides feeding guests a householder was expected to make some offerings to gods and Brāhmaṇas before he took his meals. Rāma and Sītā both observed this rule in the forest.² He was enjoined to feed children, oldmen, servants, newly married girls, maidens, sick persons and pregnant women before he took his meals.³ He should also set apart some food for dogs, outcasts, Cāndālas, persons afflicted with infectious diseases, birds and insects.⁴ Ancient Indians always washed their hands, feet and mouth before they took their meals. They also sipped water before and after taking their meals.⁵ It was considered impro-

¹ अथ स केवलं भुद्भवते यः पचत्यात्मकारणात्
यज्ञशिष्टाशनं हृतं सत्तमन्नं विधीयते।

Manu. III. 118.

² पर्तीश्च द्रीपदी सर्वानि द्विजातीश्च यशस्विनी
मातृबद्धं भोजयित्वा एते शिष्टमाहारयतादा।

Mbh. Van. 58.8.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 59.36-37, Aranya. 56.23.

देवान् अप्तीन् मनुष्याश्च पितृन् गृह्णात्वं देवताः।

पूजयित्वा ततः पश्चाद् गृहस्थः शोपभृग्मवेत्।

Manu. III. 117.

³ सुवातिनीः कुमारीश्च दोषिणीगर्भिणीहित्वयः।
अतिविष्योजा एवतान् भोजयेदविचारयन्।

Manu. III. 144.

बालानामय बुद्धानां दासानां चैव ये नराः।

अदत्तवा भक्षयन्त्यग्रे ते वै निरयनामिनः।

Mbh. Anu. 23.82.

Manu. III. 105, 117, 119, 152.

⁴ शुनां च पतितानां च शवपानां पापरोगिणाम्।
वायसानां कुमीणां च शनकं निर्देवद भुविः।

Manu. III. 92.

⁵ पञ्चाद्रो भोजनं भुञ्ज्यात् प्राह्मुखो मौनमास्थितः।
न निन्द्यादनं भव्याश्च स्वादु स्वादु च भक्षयेत्।

Mbh. Santi. 193.6.

आद्रंपादस्तु भुञ्जानो वर्षणां जीवते शतम्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.67.

आश्रं बुभुक्षमाणस्तु त्रिमुखेन सृशेदपः।

भुक्षवा जात्रं तथैव त्रिद्विः पुनः परिमार्जयेत्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.59.

आद्रंपादस्तु दीर्घमाय रवा ल्युत्।

Manu. IV. 76.

उपस्पृश्य द्विजोनित्यमन्नमद्यात्माहितः।

भुक्षवा चोपस्पृशोत्सम्यगद्विभिः जाति च संस्पृशेत्।

Manu. II. 53.

C.f. Manu. V. 138, II.60.

per to consume the leavings of any person especially liquid foods such as water, milk rice, groats, curds, clarified butter and honey.¹

It is laid down that a man should not eat the leavings of women and Sūdras, as also what is eaten by a cat, a crow, a mouse, a dog, an ichneumon or food into which a hair or an insect has fallen.² The Mahābhārata gives a long list of those persons whose food should be avoided. The list includes a back-biter, a dealer in *soma*, an acrobat, one who is ungrateful, a potter, a fisherman, an actor, a goldsmith, a musician, a dealer in arms, a hunter, a dealer in liquors, a washerman, a cruel person, a barber, a physician, a woman who has a second husband, a prostitute and a harlot.³ Manu also lays down that a student, who has completed his Vedic studies, should never eat food given by in-

¹ पानीं पायत् सकून् दधिसर्पिर्मध्यपि
निरस्य शोषमन्येषां न प्रदेवं तु कस्यचित्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.104.

नोच्छिष्टं कस्यचिद् दद्यान्नाद्याच्चैव यथान्तरा।
न चैवात्यशनं कुरुत्वोच्छिष्टः कवचिद् दजेत्।

Manu. II.36.

² Manu. XI. 152, XI. 160.

शूद्राणां यस्तथा भुज्वते स भुज्वते पूयिवीमलम् ।५
चिकित्सकः काण्डपृष्ठः सूराध्वकः पुरोहितः।
सावत्सरो वृथाध्यायी सर्वे हैं शूद्रसंचिताः ।११

Mbh. Anu. 198. 5,11.

अभोज्यानां तु भुक्त्वात् स्त्रीशूद्रोच्छिष्टमेव च।
जग्ध्या मासमध्येष्य च सप्तरात्रे यान् पिवेत्।

Manu. XI. 152.

³ C.F. Manu. IV. 207-203, XI. 95-96, II.209.

प्रेतान्नं सूतिकाञ्च च यज्ञ किञ्चिदनिर्देशम्।
अभोज्यं चाप्यपेष्य च धेनोद्यग्वमनिर्देशम् ।२६
राजान्नं तेज आदते शूद्रान्नं अहावर्जसम्।
आयुः सुवर्णकारान्नमवीरायादच योगितः ।२७
विष्ठा वार्षुविकस्यान्नं गणिकान्नमयेन्द्रियम्।
मध्यमिति ये चोपपर्ति स्त्रीजितान्नं च सर्वशः ।२८
दीक्षितस्य कदर्यस्य कस्तुविकर्यिकस्य च।
तश्यस्त्रमविकर्तुश्च पूश्वल्या रजकस्य च ।२९
चिकित्सकस्य पश्चान्नमभोज्य रक्षिणस्तथा।
गणग्रामाभिशस्तानीं रज्जुस्त्रीजीविनां यथा ।३०
परिवितीनां पूसा च विद्युतविदां तथा ।३१

Mbh. Santi. 36.26-31.

रजस्त्वलाभिवृष्टं च तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः ।४
अवधुष्टं च यद् भुक्तमवतेन च भारत।
पुरामृष्टं शुना चैव तं भागं रक्षसां विदुः ।५।
केवाकौटावपतिं क्षुतं इवभिरवेशितम्।

toxicated, angry, or sick men nor what has been touched intentionally with the foot. He should also avoid food which is given without due respect or that which contains unsanctified meat, or the food of an enemy, or that given by the lord of a town or that on which anybody has sneezed. But roots and fruits could be accepted from persons of any caste.¹ Food kept overnight or which has turned sour was to be avoided but any preparations of clarified butter and the remnants of sacrificial offering could be taken even if they were kept overnight.²

Food was always eaten with respect and in a happy mood. It was believed that food taken in a happy mood made a man strong. It was laid down that a man should on no account drop a tear, become angry, or utter an untruth, nor should he revile food served to him.³

People generally took breakfast in the morning, lunch in the afternoon and dinner at sunset.⁴ It was considered improper to take any food between the two principal meals.⁵ Manu

सदिति चावधूतं च तं भागं रक्षसांविदुः । ६।
निरोक्षोरेण यद् भुक्तं सक्षस्त्रेण च भारत ।
दुरात्मना च यद् भुक्तं तं भागं रक्षसांविदुः । ७।
परोऽनिक्षण्टं च यद् भुक्तं च यद् भवेत् ।
दैवे पित्र्ये च सततं तं भागं रक्षसांविदुः । ८।

Mbh. Anu. 23.4-8.

¹ Manu. V. 9, 10, 24, 25.

² यत्किंचित् स्नहसंयुक्तं भक्ष्य भोज्यमर्गाहितम् ।
तत्पूर्युपितमन्याद्य हविःशोषं च यद् भवेत्

Manu. V. 24.

³ पूजयेदशनं नित्यमध्याच्छैतदकृत्सयन् ।
हृष्ट्वा हृष्ट्येत् प्रसीदेच्च प्रतिनन्देच्च सर्वसाः । ५.४।
पूजितं हृशनं नित्यं वलमूर्जं च यज्ञति ।
अपूजितं तु यद् भुक्तमुभयं नाशयेदयम् । ५.५।

Manu. II. 54-55.

⁴ Rāmāyaṇa. Aranya. 36.25, Sund. 22.9, Sundara. 11.

⁵ सायं प्रातर्हितातीनामशनं श्रुति चोदितम् ।
नान्तरा भोजनं कुर्यादिभिर्होत्रसमो विधिः ।

Manu. II. 6.

सायं प्रातर्मनूप्याणामशनं देवनिर्मितम् ।
नान्तरा भोजनं दृष्टमुपवासी तथा भवेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 193.9.

अन्तरा प्रातराशं च सायमाशं तथैव च ।
सदोपवासी स भवेद्यो न भृहक्षेत्रतरा पुनः ।

Mbh. Santi. 221.10.

Cf. Mbh. Anu. 161.100.

lays down that one should not take food when walking nor should he take very early in the morning nor very late in the evening.¹ One should avoid over eating because it destroys health and bars heaven.²

A student was advised to subsist on alms and to abstain from honey, meat, flavours and all fermented acids.³ The ascetics generally lived on broken pieces of rice, *Kulmāṣa*, oil cake, leaves, barley gruel, groats, roots and fruits or gleanings of corn. The fruit which the foresters used were those which fell from the tree without being plucked.⁴ They were expected to be moderate in food and to eat only as much as is necessary to maintain life.⁵

The general rules of etiquette were that a person should have at least two garments when taking his meals,⁶ and should

मम त्वा प्रातराशार्थमालभन्ते महानसे ।

Rama. Sundara, 22.9.

¹ नाशनीयात् संधिष्ठेतायां न गच्छत्तपि संविशेत् ।

Manu. IV. 55.

न भुज्जीतोद्घृतस्नेहं नातिसौहित्यमाचरेत् ।

नाति प्रगे नाति सायं न सायं प्रातराशितः ।

Manu. IV. 62.

² अनारोग्यमनायव्यमस्वर्यं जातिभोजनम् ।

अपुष्ट्यलोकतिद्विष्टं तस्मात्तत् परिवर्जयेत् ।

Manu. II. 57.

³ वर्जयेन्मधुं भासं च गन्धं भालयं रसान् स्वियः ।

शुक्ताणि यानि सर्वाणि प्राणिनां चैव हिसनम् ।

Manu. II. 177.

⁴ कण्कुलमाप पिण्डाकशाकयावकसन्ततः ।

तथा मूलकलं भैरवं पद्ययेणोपयोजयेत् ।

Mbh. Santi. 215.21.

शिलोब्लृ वृत्तिर्वर्मत्वा मुद्गलः संयतेन्द्रियः ।

Mbh. Vana. 260.3.

पुष्ट्यमूलफलैर्वर्णपि केवलैर्वर्तयेत् सदा ।

कालपकवैः स्वयंशीर्णवैर्ज्ञानसः ।

Manu. VI. 21.

Rama. Ay. 20.29, Ay. 28.12, Manu. III. 257.

नियताहाराः ।

⁵ यात्रामात्रं च भुज्जीत केवलं प्राणधारणम् ।

Rama. VII. 9.39.

यात्रामात्रं च भुज्जीत केवलं प्राणधारणम् ।

Mbh. Asvamedha.

⁶ याग्यतो न कवस्वरक्षनासुविष्टः कदाचन

Mbh. Anu. 161.101.

भूमौ सदैव नाशनीयाशाशीवं न च शब्दवत् ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.71.

नैक वस्त्रेण भोक्तव्यम् ।

Manu. IV. 45.

नाश्रमद्यादेकवासा न नग्नः स्नानमाचरेत् ।

not have his head dress and shoes on.¹ He should face the east for it was believed that the practice tends to long life.² He should eat in privacy and silently without making any sound while eating. He should take his meals in a sitting posture and not while walking.³ He should not take food, placing it in his lap, nor should he be too eager to eat.⁴ In a party the etiquette demanded that the same dishes should be served to all.⁵ It was considered improper to eat sweet dishes without sharing them with others.⁶ Women generally took their meals after their husbands had done so.⁷ Eating from the same dish with others was considered bad.⁸

¹ यद्येष्टितशिरो भुद्धक्ते यद् भुद्धक्ते दक्षिणामुखः।
सोपानलक्ष्य यद् भुद्धक्ते तदैरुक्तांसि भुद्धक्ते।

Manu. III. 238.

² Mbh. Anu. 104.57, Manu. II. 52.53.
प्राचमुखी नित्यमश्ननीयात् वाच्यतोऽभ्यमकुल्यत्यन्।

Mbh. Anu. 161.6.

³ निपण्णश्चापि खादेत न तु गच्छन् कदाच्चन।

Mbh. Anu. 161.65.

मैथुनं सततं गुप्तमाहारं च समाचरेत्।

Mbh. Anu. 163.47.

⁴ नोरसंगेभक्षयेद् भक्ष्याज्ज जातुस्यात् कुतुहली।

Manu. IV. 63.

⁵ अतिथीनां च सर्वेषां प्रेष्याणां स्वजनस्य च
सामान्यं भोजनं भूत्यै पुरुषस्य प्रशस्यते।

Mbh. Santi. 193.9.

समानमेकपद्मक्षयां तु भोज्यमन्नं नरेश्वर।
विवेष हालाहलं भुद्धक्ते योऽप्रदाय सुहृद्जने।

Mbh. Anu. 161.103.

तावलीढमवशात्माद्रातं भक्षयेदपि।
तथानोद्भृतसाराणि प्रेक्षतामप्रदाय च।

Mbh. Anu. 161.95.

⁶ कच्चित् स्वादुकृतं भोज्यं एको नाश्नाति राष्ट्रव।

Rama. Ay. 100.75.

पुत्रैर्दिक्ष भूत्यैश्च स्वगृहे परिवारितः
स एको मृष्टमश्नतात् यस्यार्थोन्मतेगतः।

Rama. Ay. 75.34.

Manu. III. 229.

⁷ Rama. Ay. 59.36-37, Aranya. 56.28.
पर्वीश्च द्रौपदीं सर्वान् द्विजातीश्च यशस्विनी
मातृवद् भोजित्वाद्य शिष्टमाहारवत्तदा।

Mbh. Vana. 58.8.

नाशनीयाद् भार्याया सार्वम् नैनामीक्षेत चाशनीम्।

Manu. IV. 43.

समानमेकपाने तु भुज्जेत्रान्नं जनेश्वर।

Mbh. Anu. 161.94.

We come across almost the same taboos as in the Sūtras. Onions, garlic, and all plants growing on an impure piece of land such as mushrooms, *Bhūṣṭṛṇa*, *Sigrū* and *Slesmātaka* were avoided.¹ It is laid down in the Mahābhārata that one desirous of prosperity should avoid the fruits of *Pippala*, *Vāta* and *Uduṃbara* and the leaves of hemp.² Preparations of sesamum were avoided after sunset.³

Feasts were generally given at the time of sacrifices. At such sacrifices Brāhmaṇas who sold meat were not invited.⁴ Generally three noble Brāhmaṇas were issued an invitation to a feast for the manes,⁵ one day before or on the actual day of the feast. All kinds of dainty dishes were served by waiters who were well dressed with ornaments.⁶ In the forest Rāma per-

¹ वर्जयेन्द्रियं मांसं च भौमानि कवकानि च ।

भूस्तृणं शिश्रुकं चैव इलेज्ञालककलानि च ।

Manu. VI. 14.

लशुनं गृज्जनं चैव पलाण्डुं कवकानि च
अभ्यव्याणि हिजातीनाममेष्यप्रभवाणि च ।

Manu. V. 5.

क्षत्राकं विद् वराहं च लशुनं ग्रामकुक्कुटम्
पलाण्डुं गृज्जनं चैव मत्या जग्धवा पतेद् दिजः ।

Manu. V. 19.

स्थलजोदकशाकानिपुष्ट्यमूलफलानि च ।

मेष्य वृक्षोद्भवान्यवात् सस्नेहाश्च फलसंभवान् ।

Manu. VI. 13.

² पिपलं च वटं चैव शणशाकं तथैव च ।

उदुम्बरं न खादेच्च भवार्थी पुरुषो नृप ।

Mbh. Anu. 161.97.

³ सर्वच्च तिलसम्बद्धं नाशादस्तमिते रखी ।

Manu. IV. 75.

⁴ चिकित्सकान् देवतानांसंविद्यिणस्तत्या

विषणे च जीवन्तो वज्र्याः स्पुर्हव्यकव्ययोः ।

Manu. III. 152.

⁵ पूर्वेद्युरपरेचुर्वा शाद्वकमंष्युपस्थिते ।

निमन्त्रयेत् अवरान् सम्यग् विप्रान् यथोदितान् ।

Manu. III. 187.

⁶ स्वलंकृताश्च पुरुषा त्राहुणान् पर्यवेषयन्

उपासते च तानन्ये सुमृष्टमणिकुण्डलाः ।

Rama. Bal. 14.8.

यस्य चाहारसमये सूदाः कुण्डलधारिणः ।

Rama. Ayo. 12.95.

परिवेषणं च विप्राणां प्रयताः संप्रचकिरे ।

Rama. Uttara. 92.6.

C.f. Rama. Ay. 12.85, Aranya. 56.24, Sundara. 22.9.

formed these rites by offering fruits such as *inguda*, jujube and *bilva*, but generally the food served to the Brāhmaṇas consisted of such stuffs as were eaten by hermits in the forest; milk, soma juice and meat which is not prepared with spices.¹ It was generally served hot and prepared with clarified butter.² The Saiva festival *Saṁjā* is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata. On such occasions feasts accompanied by drinking were common.³ Some idea of the feasts in these days can be had from the description of the feasts which *Vasishta* and *Bhāradvāja* gave in honour of the visit of *Viśvāmitra* and *Bharata* respectively.⁴

The food of the rich generally consisted of meat preparations, of the middle class people of dairy products, and of the poor of food preparations cooked in oil.⁵ People used to take with them some food when proceeding on a journey.⁶ From the Sārasvata Upākhyāna in the Salyaparva of the Mahābhārata we know that the Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas had no objection to taking meat diet.⁷ The custom of betel chewing after meals is mentioned no where in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata probably

महानसेषु चिद्रेषु संस्कृतेज्ञीव भारत ।
आहार्यमाणे वृष्णयो व्यदृश्यन्त सहस्रशः ।

Mbh. Mausala. 2.

गणांकच सूपशाकाद्यान् पयोदधि घृतं मधुं
विन्यसेत् प्रयतः पूर्वं भूमावेव समाहितः ।

Manu. III. 226.

भक्षयं भोजयं च विविधं मूलानि च फलानि च
हृद्यानि चैव मांसानि पानानि सुरभीणि च ।

Manu. III. 227.

C.f. Rama. Bal. 53.1, 54.22, VII. 92.6, VII. 92.11.

¹ इज्जदैवं रैः विलवं रामस्तर्पयते पितृन् ।
यदेवं पुष्पयो भुइक्ते तद्ब्रात्स्तस्य देवताः ।

Rama. Ay. 103.30.

² Manu. III. 257, 236.

अत्युष्णं सर्वमङ्गं स्याद् भूञ्जीरस्ते वाग्यताः ।
न च द्विजातयो भूयूत्रिता पृष्ठा हर्विश्चान् ।

Manu. III. 236.

³ Hopkins.-Epic Mythology, pp. 63.220.

⁴ Rama. Bal. 52 and 53, Ay. 91.

⁵ आह्यानां मांसं परमं मध्यानां गोरसीत्तरम् ।
तैलोत्तरं ददिद्राणां भोजनं भरतवंभ ।

Mbh. Udyoga. 34.49.

⁶ दत्तपथ्यशना द्रुता जग्मः स्वं स्वं निकेतनम् ।
केक्यांस्ते गमिष्यन्तो हृषानाशहृ संभतान् ।

Ram. Ay. 68.10.

⁷ Mbh. Salya. 51.

because it had not yet become a part of the Aryan etiquette.

The inhabitants of the Vählika region did not observe all the rules about the purity of food. Their food habits have been condemned in the Karṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata. Their meal consisted of groats, fish, beef and liquor prepared from treacle. Other food articles which they used were parched barley, garlic, onions, cakes, meat of pigs, cocks, asses, camels and rams, and churned curds. They also took the milk of sheep, camels and asses and could take their meals with persons of all castes. They used wooden vessels and earthenware for taking food. Their women were addicted to drinking.¹

We have already referred to the non-Aryan people the *Vānaras* who subsisted on the roots, fruits and tubers of the forest and the *Rākṣasas* whose meal mostly consisted of meat preparations and strong liquors. In the Rāmāyaṇa the description of Rāvaṇa's kitchen and in the Mahābhārata the account of Hiḍimba shows that these people were not affected by the civilizing influence of the Aryans.²

To sum up in the epics and the Manusmṛti we have a society divided into three broad strata; the rich, the middle classes and the poor. The rich enjoyed many meat preparations and dainties. The food of the middle classes generally consisted of milk and

¹ येषां गृहेष्विष्टानां सकुमस्त्वाश्चिनां तथा।

पीत्वा सीधुं समोमासं कन्दन्ति च हसन्ति च।

वासांस्पुत्रज्यं नृत्यन्ति स्त्रियो या मर्यमोहिताः।

Mbh. Karna. 40. 27-28.

धानागीड्यासवं पीत्वा गोमासं लक्ष्मनः सह।

अपूपमांसवाद्यानाम्॥शिनः शीलवर्जितः॥११॥

अपूपान् सकुपि पिण्डाश्वं प्राशनन्तो मधिताम्बितान्॥२१॥

पलाञ्छुगृष्णयुतान् खादन्ती चैडकान् वहून्।

वाराहं कौकुटं मासं गव्यं गार्दभमोद्विकम्॥२८॥

काष्ठकुण्डेषु बाह्मीका मूलयेषु च भूजते॥३५॥

सकुमस्यावलिनेषु श्वावलीहेषु निर्घृणाः।

आविकं चौप्लिकं चैव सीरं गार्दभमेव च॥३६॥

तडिकारां बाह्मीकाः लादन्ति च पिवन्ति च।

पुत्रसंकरिणो जाल्मा: सर्वश्रीरभोजनाः॥३७॥

Mbh. Karna. 44. 11-37.

Churned curds (*Mathitas*) and meat preparations are popular in the Punjab even to this day.

² See p. 108, f. n. 1.

articles cooked in clarified butter while the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. The jungle tribes such as the *Vānaras* and the *Rākṣasas* lived mainly on roots and fruit and meat preparations respectively. With the passage of time a feeling of revulsion against meat diet was growing in the Aryan society and it was considered meritorious to live on vegetarian dishes alone. But in the Punjab some people relished even beef. Drinking was common in the Punjab and in the Southern India where Aryan influence had not yet fully penetrated. The list of those persons whose food should be avoided has been considerably increased probably to maintain the purity of race. The art of cooking was further developed on account of the keen interest taken by royal princes and grand feasts were commoner on such occasions as marriages and sacrifices.

CHAPTER V
FOOD AND DRINKS
(75 A.D. To 300 A.D.)

For the period 75 A.D. to 300 A.D. our principal sources of information are the medical treatises of Caraka and Suśruta. We may supplement their information by that provided by the two other medical works composed during our period, the Saṁhitās of Bhela and Kāśyapa. For the views of the society about interdining and other rules of diet we have utilised the Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra and the Yājñavalkya Smṛti which were according to Dr. Kane, composed not later than 300 A.D.

According to the authors of the medical works it is food alone which sustains life. If proper food is taken it brings vitality, refreshes all the limbs, strengthens the sources of life, develops the faculties of memory and intelligence, increases the physical strength and makes the complexion clear. If proper diet is not taken the result is unhappiness.¹ Human body is made of five elements and food articles are also composed of five elements. If, the food articles are properly digested, they nourish the respective elements in the body² and the three primary humours

¹ न आहारादृते प्राणिनां प्राणाधिकानं किञ्चिदप्युपलभामहे स सम्बन्धयुज्यमानो जीवयति, सर्वेत्रियाणि ल्लादयति, धातुनायायति, सृतिमतिसर्वबलीजांस्यूर्जयति, वर्णप्रसादं चोपजनयति, असम्बन्धयुज्यमानस्त्वसुखेनोपयोजयति ।

Kāśyapa. Khila. V. 3.

हिताहारोपयोग एक एव पुरुषस्याभिवृद्धिकरो भवति अहिताहारोपयोगः पुनर्वर्धीनां निमित्तमिति ।

Caraka. Su. 25. 31.

बलमारोम्बद्यमायुद्धं प्राणाश्चाग्नीं प्रतिष्ठिताः ।

अभ्यपानेन्द्रनेन्द्रवान्निर्दीप्यते शाम्पतेऽन्यथा ।

Caraka. Su. 27. 340.

² पञ्चभूतात्मके देहस्थाहारः पाञ्चभौतिकः ।

विषपक्वः पञ्चधासम्यग् गुणानस्वानभिवर्धयेत् ।

अविदग्धः कफं पित्तं विदग्धः पवनं पुनः

सम्बन्धिपक्वोनिःसार आहारः परिवृहयेत् ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 526-527.

wind, gall and mucus are not disturbed. If it is not properly digested it deranges one or more of these humours and diseases are caused.¹ They have, therefore, paid special attention to the topic of food and drinks and devoted special chapters to discuss the subject.

Food articles have been divided into four categories, beverages, food which does not require chewing, that which requires chewing and that which is taken by licking.² All the food articles consist of six flavours sweet, acid, salt, pungent, astringent and bitter. All these flavours increase one or more of the three primary humours of the human body. A proper balance of these flavours keeps man free from all diseases and enables him to lead a happy and healthy life.³

CEREALS AND PULSES

Food grains have been divided into two kinds, those with awns and those having legumes.⁴ Of the first kind the most important was rice with its three main varieties—*Vṛīhi* ripening in autumn, *Sālli* ripening in winter and *Sastika* ripening in sixty

¹ वायुः पितं कपहचोक्तः शारीरो दोषसंग्रहः।

मानसः पुनरुद्धिष्टो रजश्च तमएव च।

Caraka. Su. I. 56.

शारीरास्त्वल्पानमूला वातपित्तकफशीणितसङ्गिप्रतबैषम्यनिभित्ता।

Susruta. Su. I. 25.

² चतुर्विधोपयोगः पानाशनभक्षयलेह्योपयोगात्।

Caraka. Su. 25.36.

³ यद् भक्षयति भृद्धक्ते वा विधिवच्चापि मानवः।

पैयः च किञ्चित् पिपति तत्सर्वं वदृतान्वितम्।

Bhela. XXVIII. p. 47.

प्राणिनामुनमूलमाहारो बलवर्णाजसां च। स पद्मु रसेष्वायतः रसाः पुनरुद्ध्वाक्षयाः, द्रव्याणि पुनरोक्षयः।

Susruta. Su. I. 28.

एवमेते वदृताः पृथक्त्वेनैकत्वेन वा मात्राः सम्यगुपयुज्यमानाः उपकारकरा भवन्त्य-
व्यारम्भोक्तस्य अपकारकराः पुनरथोज्ययोपयुज्यमानाः, तान् विद्वानुपकारार्थमेव मात्राः
सम्यगुपयोजयेदिति।

Caraka. Su. 26.66.

स्वादुभलवणा वायुं कधायस्वादुतिक्तकाः।

जयन्ति पितं इलेक्षमात्रं कधायकटुतिक्तकाः।

Caraka. Su. I. 65.

⁴ *Sāka dhanya* (those with awns)

Sāmi dhanya (leguminous plants)

Caraka. Su. 27.6.

days in summer.¹ The *Vribi* variety was considered inferior to the other two varieties.² The most popular varieties of *Sāli* rice were—*raktaśāli*, *mabāśāli*, and *kalama*³ and of *Vribi* rice the black variety called *Kṛṣṇavribi*.⁴ *Saṣṭika* rice was considered very nourishing and its daily use is recommended.⁵ Some inferior cereals such as *Koradūṣaka*, *Syāmāka*, *Nivāra*, *Varaka* and *Priyamī* were used by poor people and ascetics.⁶ Two varieties of

¹ शालि हैमन्तं धान्यम् विट्कादयस्च ग्रीष्मका: श्रीहयः शारदा:।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka, Su. 27.

² विट्काद्यालिमुद्गांश्च संग्रहवामलके यवान्।

आत्मरीक्षं पयः सप्तिज्ञिलं मधु चाम्बसेत्।

Caraka, Su. 5.10.

³ Caraka mentions fifteen good varieties of *Sāli* rice—*Raktaśāli*, *Mabāśāli*, *Kalama*, *Sakunābyta*, *Tūrgaka*, *Dīrghaśālika*, *Gaura*, *Pāṇḍuka*, *Lāṅgula*, *Sugan-dhika*, *Lobhāla*, *Sāriva*, *Pramodaka*, *Patangi* and *Tapanīya*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 7-8).

The five inferior varieties of *Sāli* rice are *Yavaka*, *Hāyana*, *Pāṁshu*, *Vāpya* and *Naiṣadabaka*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 11).

C.f. Susruta. 46.4, Bhela, XXVIII. p. 48.

सोहितशालयः शुक्कधान्यानां पद्यतमत्वे शेष्ठतमाभवन्ति

Caraka, Su. 25. p. 130.

तेषां सोहितकः शेष्ठो दोषात्मः शुक्कमूत्रात्मः।

Susruta. Su. 46.6.

एतत्वालिवर्तस्तेषामरौक्ष्याल्लाघवेन च।

Bhela, XXVIII. p. 48.

विट्का यवगोभूमा सोहिता ये च शालयः।

Susruta. Su. 46.332.

मुद्गाढकीमसूराश्च धान्येषु प्रवराः स्मृताः।

Susruta. Su. 46.12.

कृष्णश्रीहिंशालामुखजन्तुमुखनन्दीमुखलावक्षकत्वरितक कुकुटाष्टक पारावतक पाटल

प्रभृतयो श्रीहयः।

Susruta. Su. 46.12.

कृष्णश्रीहिंशरस्तेषां कथायानुरसोलघुः।

Susruta. Su. 46.14.

⁴ Besides the two varieties of *Saṣṭika* rice one white and the other black white, Caraka mentions *Varaka*, *Uddilaka*, *Cīna*, *Sārada*, *Ujjvala*, *Dardura*, *Gandhala* and *Kuruvinda* in this category.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 13-14).

C.f. Susruta. 46.8.

माषयूयेन यो भुक्त्वा धृताह्यं विट्कौदनम्।

पयः पिवति रात्रिं स कुरस्तां जागर्ति वेगवान्।

Caraka. Ci. II. 1.47.

विट्कः प्रवरस्तेषां कथायानुरसो लघुः।

Susruta. 46.10.

⁵ The following varieties of inferior cereals are mentioned—*Pāṭala*, *Koradūṣaka*, *Syāmāka*, *Lobhāla*, *Priyamī*, *Mukunda*, *Jbiṇti*, *Garmūti*, *Caraka*, *Varaka*, *Sibira*, *Utkapa* and *Jūrpa*.

(Caraka, Su. 27. 15-17).

wheat *Madbhūlikā* and *Nandīmukhi* have been mentioned by Suśruta in the list of inferior foodgrains, which shows that wheat had not till then reached its present prominent position.¹ Barley continued to be the staple food grain besides rice.² Many pulses were in use but the most popular were *Mudga*, *Aḍbaki* and *Masūra*.³ The medical works regard *Māṣa* as the worst pulse because it was difficult to digest.⁴ *Kulattha* is prescribed for a feeding mother with a view to increase her milk.⁵

Rice was washed and cooked in water or milk with fats, meat, fruits, tubers or pulses.⁶ Gruels were named according to the proportion of water they contained. They were either

¹ कोरदूषक श्यामाक नीवार शान्तनु वरकोटालक प्रियंग मधुलिका नान्दीमुखी कुहरिवद गवेधुक सरबसक तीयपर्णी मुकुन्दक वेणुयव प्रभृतयः कुधान्य विशेषाः।

Susruta. Su. 46.21.

² Caraka. Su. 27.19, Susruta. Su. 46, Bhela. p. 44.

³ Caraka mentions, *Mudga*, *Māṣa*, *Rājāmāṣa*, *Kulattha*, *Makusībhaka*, *Caraka*, *Masūra*, *Khaṇḍikā*, *Harepu*, *Śimbi*, *Aḍbaki*, *Avalgūja*, *Edgaja*, *Nisṛpāva*, *Kōkāndola* and *Ātmaguptī*.

(Caraka. Su. 27. 22-23).

C.f. Bhela XXVIII. p. 48.

चणकाश्च मसूराश्च लिप्तिकाः सहरेणवः।

लघवः शीतमधुराः सकपायाः विरुद्धाणाः।

Caraka. Su. 27.28.

मुद्गवनमुद्गकलायमकुष्ठमसूरमङ्गल्यचणकसतीनिप्रिपुटकहरेणशाढकी प्रभृतयः बैदलाः।

Susruta. Su. 46.27.

हरेणवो मसूराश्च सतिनाश्च तथादेके।

कुलुत्याश्च विशेषेण कथायमधुरा रसे।

Bhela. p. 46.

मुद्गाढकी मसूराश्च धान्येषु प्रवराः स्मृताः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 332.

⁴ माषाः शमीधान्यानाम् आपद्यतमत्वेन प्रकुष्ठतमाभवन्ति।

Caraka. Su. 25. p. 130.

⁵ Kasyapa. Sam. XIX.

⁶ सुधीतः प्रसुतः स्त्रियः संतप्तश्चौदनो लघुः।

अधीतोप्रसुतोऽस्त्रियः शीतश्चाप्योदनो गुरुः।

Caraka. Su. 27.256.

C.f. Susruta. Su. 46.347.

गुडौदनं पायसं च हृषिक्षं क्षीरयष्टिकम्

दध्नीदनं हृषिक्षूर्ण मांसं चिकाप्रमेव च।

Yaj. I. 303-304.

स्नेहैर्मैसैकलैः कन्दैर्वेदलामैश्च संयुताः।

गुरुतो वृहणा वस्त्वा ये च क्षीरोपसाधिताः।

Susruta. Su. 46.349.

drunk or licked.¹ One of the tasty soups was prepared with parched rice, long pepper, dry ginger and the juice of pomegranates.²

All the old preparations of cereals such as groats, parched barley and rice, *Kulmāṣa*, *Saskuli*, *Prthuka*, *Kṛṣara* and *Apūpa* were in use.³ Groats were also eaten in the form of a

¹ सिंकर्विरहितो मण्डः पेया सिक्षसमन्विता
विलेपी बहुसिक्षया स्वाद् यवागूर्विरलद्रवा।

Susruta. Su. 46.345.

If the quantity of water mixed for cooking was four times that of food grains it was called *Vilepi*, if five times, it was called *Anna*, if six times, *Yavāgī* and if fourteen times *Māṇḍa*.

अन्नं पञ्चगुणे दोये यवाम् पद्मगुणे पचेत्
चतुर्दशगुणे मण्डं विलेपीं तु चतुर्गुणे।

Dalhana on Susruta. Su. 46.

² पेयाहि सिद्धा सह धाडिमेन तकेण चक्रेण जलेन चोष्णा।

सर्वेष्व चाशु विहन्ति तृष्णां कालोपपत्रा मरिचाद्रकाभ्याम्।

Kas. Sam. Su. 53.

³ *Sakta* (parched barley meal)—Caraka Su. 27.263. Groats mixed with clarified butter or cold water neither too thick nor too thin in consistency were called *Mantva*. They were also mixed with sour gruel, treacle, sugar, juice of sugarcane and grapes (Susruta. Su. 46. 385). Caraka Su. 27.262 also mentions groats of parched paddy.

सक्ताः सपियामुक्ताः शीतवारियरिष्टुताः

नात्यच्छा नातिसान्त्राश्च मन्धइत्यनिधीयते।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 6.28.

Dhāmāb (parched barley, Caraka. Su. 27.264).

Sprouted barley was also parched (*Virūḍha dhāmāb*).

विहृष्णानाशक्तुल्यो मधुओडः सपिष्ठकाः।

पूपाः पूपिकाश्च गुरवः पैटिकाः परम्।

Caraka. Su. 27.267.

Porridge of parched barley was also used. (*Vidyā*).

हन्याद् व्याधीन् यवापूपो यावको वाट्यएव च।

Caraka. Su. 27.265.

Bhr̥ṣṭa tapḍula—Parched rice was also used in preparing a porridge, भृष्टबृष्टुलभिञ्छन्ति गरस्तेभ्यामयेष्वपि।

Caraka. Su. 27.257.

Kulmāṣa—Barley flour slightly boiled in warm water, and made into cakes.

यवपिष्ठमुष्णोदकसिक्तमीषत् स्विन्नमपूषीकृतं कुलमाषमात्।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 27.260.

Saskuli—Delicious cakes prepared with fine rice or gram meal mixed with sesamum and fried in oil.

शालिपिष्ठः सतिलैस्तंपक्षाः क्रियन्ते।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su. 27.265.

Cf. Susruta. Su. 46.400.

चणकादिपिष्ठकुताः सतिलाः लैसभृष्टाःशकुतीः।

Dalhana on Susruta Su.. 46.400.

paste.¹ A new preparation of rice or wheat called *Visyanda* is mentioned in the *Susruta*.² A cake of barley flour with a broad bottom and a pointed top with some marks in the middle was called *Svastika*.³ Many sweet preparations were made from powdered wheat flour in this period.⁴

Pulses such as *Mudga*, *Masūra*, gram and pea were parched and eaten,⁵ besides being made into soups.⁶ Beans of *mudga*

Pribuka

आद्रैवालिधान्यं मुदुभ्रष्टं मुसलाधातचिप्टीभूतावयवं पृथुका इत्युच्चन्ते।
Dalhana.

C.f. Kas-Sam. p. 305, Susruta. Su. 46.415.

Sṛjpa

निस्तुवयुक्तिभ्रष्टं च सूच्यं लघु विपक्षते।
Susruta. Su. 46.310.

Kṛṣṇa—a porridge prepared with sesamum rice and *māṣa* pulse (Susruta. Su. 46.346).

वृद्धा कुसर संयाव पायसापूपशप्तुलीः।

Yaj. I. 173.

Palalasidana—Rice cooked with ground sesamum.

कुताकृतांस्ताण्डुलांश्च पललीवनमेव च।

Yaj. I. 287.

Aḍḍha—Cakes of barley or rice meal—Caraka. Su. 27.265.

¹ सकृत्वा नामवलेहिका।

Susruta. Su. 46.412.

² *Visyanda*—It was either a preparation of rice grains fried in ghee, or wheat flour mixed with ghee, milk and treacle. It was neither too thick nor too thin in consistency. (Susruta. Su. 46.398).

बृत्तभ्रष्ट तण्डुलाः प्रथवा आमगोधूमचूर्णं च सपि: क्षीरगुडाग्नितम्। नाति सान्द्रो नाति-
घनो विष्वन्दोनाम नामतः।

Dalhana.

³ *Svastika*—Susruta. Uttara. 60.33.

स्वस्तिको यवादि चूर्णः कुतोऽधोभागे विस्तीर्ण ऊर्ज्जैभागे तीक्ष्णो मध्ये बलिमय मुद्रा-
कुङ्कुमोभक्षय विशेषः।

Dalhana.

⁴ *Sāmitāb* (preparation of powdered wheat meal) stuffed with boiled and ground *mudga*.

Susruta. Su. 46.399.

⁵ मुदूगान् मसूरांश्चणकान् कलायान् भृष्टान् युतान् नागरमालिकाभ्याम्।

लिहात् तर्बैव त्रिफलाविडङ्गं चूर्णं विडङ्गप्लवयोरथवोवा।

Caraka. Cikitsā. 20.37.

⁶ *Yajja* was generally a soup of pulses prepared with spices (*kṛtgyūja*) or without them (*akṛtgyūja*). The Kāśyapa Saṁhitā mentions twenty four varieties of *Yajjas*. The most common were those prepared with *Mudga* and *Kulattha*.

अस्तेह लवणं सर्वमकृतं कटुकैविता।

विज्ञेयं लवणस्तेहकटुकैः संयुतम् कृतम्।

Susruta. Su. 46.379.

or gram when parched in fire were called *Ullumbadh*.¹ *Parpatas* were prepared with flour of pulses, as in the past.²

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk was considered a complete diet and is recommended as a most nourishing food.³ Unboiled milk was considered heavy while freshly milked warm milk was considered wholesome. Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest.⁴ Milk of cows, buffaloes, goats, mares, sheep, elephants, does,

मुद्गयूषोविरसिकायूषोदाडिमकस्तथा । १६।

चित्रकामलकानां च द्वी यूषी परिकीर्तिती ।

पत्रकोलकायूषी द्वी संग्राही दीपनस्तथा २०।

शान्त्ययूषोऽथ कौलत्थः कलयूषदध्वर्णव ।

पुण्ययूषः पत्रपूषो बलकयूषस्तथैव च । २१।

मुरुषः पल्लवयूषद्वच महायूषस्तथैव च ।

रास्तायूषो महायूषस्तथा चाञ्जेर्यामूलकस्तथा । २२।

पुनर्नवातिवलयो गुडकाम्बलिकस्तथा ।

मूरुषपिकटुयूषस्तथा लशुनैवस्तितुकेन च ।

Kasyapa. Yūṣa. 19-23.

जैवः पव्यतमञ्चैव मुद्गयूषः कृताङ्कतः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.367.

कुलत्थयूषोऽनिलहा दवासपीनसनाशनः ।

Susruta. Su. 46.372.

¹ Susruta. Su. 46.410.

मुद्गकलायादिशिष्मा अभिनपवाहोलका इत्युच्यन्ते । होलका: उलुम्बाः ।
Dalhana.

² Caraka. Su. 27.272.

³ सर्वं दुन्धमभिष्यन्दि गव्यं तेभ्योविशिष्यते ।
वाजी भवति दुन्धेन वलं चाप्युपजायते ।
संजीवनं संभवति सर्वं क्षीरमुदाहृतम् ।

Bhela. XXVII. p. 49.

क्षीरं सर्वेषां देहिनांचानुशेते क्षीरं पिवन्तं च न रोग एति ।

क्षीरात्परं नान्यदिहस्ति वृष्यं क्षीरात्परं नास्ति च जीवनीयम् ।

Kasyapa. Bhojana. 90.

उपवासात्वभाव्यस्त्रीमाशतातपकर्मभिः ।

क्षान्तानामनुपानार्थं पयः पव्यं यथामृतम् ।

Caraka. Su. 27.322.

⁴ पयोभिष्यन्दि गुवामि प्रायशः परिकीर्तिम् ।

धारोणं गुणवत् क्षीरं विपरीतमधीन्यथा ।

तदेवातिशूतं क्षीरं गुरुं वृूणमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45. 61-63.

camels and women was used.¹ Milk of buffaloes was considered good for those whose digestive system was good.² Beastings were avoided for a few days. Yājñavalkya lays down that the milk of a cow in heat, not giving milk at proper time, without her young one or the milk of camels, one hooved animals, women, animals living in a forest and of sheep should be avoided.³ Milk and ghee of a cow were considered the best and those of a sheep the worst.⁴ Milk rice was popular as before.⁵

The use of curds is not recommended in the autumn, the summer and the spring seasons.⁶ Cream of milk, and of curds, whey, fresh butter, clarified butter and butter milk were all used.⁷

¹ अविक्षीरमजाक्षीरं गोक्षीरं भाहिषं च यत्।
उष्ट्रीणामय नारीनां वद्वादा: स्त्रियास्तथा।

Caraka. Su. I. 106.

² महूभिष्वन्दि भषुरं भाहिषं वक्त्रिनाशनम्।

Susruta. Su. 45.55.

³ Caraka. Su. 27.

संधिल्पनिर्देशावत्ता गोपयः परिवर्जयेत्।
ओष्ठमैकषाफं स्त्रैगमारण्यकमयाविकम्।

Yaj. I. 170.

⁴ गव्यं सर्पि: सर्पिषो गोक्षीरं क्षीराणाम्..... (पश्यतमत्वेनश्चेष्ठतमाभवन्ति)

आविकं सर्पि: सर्पिषाम् अविक्षीरं क्षीराणाम्..... (अपश्यतमत्वेन प्रकृष्टतमाभवन्ति)

Caraka. Su. 25 p. 281.

गुड्यं क्षीरं घृतं थेष्ठम्।

Susruta. Su. 6.336.

⁵ *Pāyasa* (milk rice)—Yaj. I. 303, 173. Susruta. Su. 46.346. It appears from Yaj. that milk rice with *Saffika* rice was considered the best.

⁶ शरदशीष्मवसन्ते च प्रायशो दधि गहितम्।

Caraka. Su. 27.226.

Kasyapa. Bhoj. Kalpa 46, Susruta. 45.65.

Curds prepared from skimmed milk (*asūra dadbi*, Susruta. 45. 83) were also used.

⁷ *Santānikā*—(cream of milk) It was considered a tonic—Susruta. Su. 45.106.

Sara (cream of curds)

सरः दध्युपरि स्नेहः।

Cakrapāni. on Caraka. Su. 227.

Mastu (whey)—It is called *Māṇḍa* in Caraka. Su. 27.227.

Navanīta (fresh butter)—Caraka. Su. 27.229, Susruta. Su. 45.92.

Gṛbtam (clarified butter)—Cow's butter was considered the best. Caraka. Su. 27.229, Susruta. Su. 45.96.

Takra (butter milk)—Kasyapa Bhoj. 46, Caraka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.84.

Milk not fully curdled was considered injurious to health. Beastings, and solid part of inspissated milk were considered heavy to digest.¹ Curds churned without water were also used.² Butter was taken out by churning milk as well as curds.³ Old clarified butter was considered a panacea while condensed upper part of clarified butter was considered good for health.⁴

Curds were eaten with treacle⁵ and sweets were prepared with inspissated milk.⁶ Of the preparation of curds *rasālā* or *Sikharīṇī*⁷ was the most popular, but there was another preparation of curds called *Sattaka*. In one variety of *Sattaka*, pieces of cloves, and seeds of sour pomegranate were mixed with curds. Camphor was used to make it fragrant.⁸

¹ *Mandadadhi*—Caraka. Su. 27.228, Susruta. Su. 45.67.

² *Gholam*—

यत् स्तनेहमजलं मधिं घोलमुच्यते।

Susruta. Su. 45.85.

³ क्षीरोत्थं पुनर्नवनीतमुक्तेष्टस्तनेहमाधुयंमतिशीतं सौकुमार्यकरं चक्षुधृं संग्राहि रक्त-पित्तनेवरोगहरं प्रसादानं च।

Susruta. Su. 45.93.

⁴ *Kumbha ghytam*—Clarified butter matured from 11 to 100 years.

Ghyta manḍam—Condensed upper stratum of clarified butter.

Susruta. Su. 45.106.

⁵ *Saguda dadhi*—Susruta. Su. 27.277.

⁶ *Kūrrikā* (solid ingredients of inspissated milk)—It is called *Kilāṭa* in Caraka. Su. 27.233. Its daily use is not recommended. Sweets prepared from it were called *Kūrrikā vikṛtā*. Susruta. Su. 46.403.

कूर्चिकीभूत कीरटस्य घनभागः किलाटः।

Cakrapāpi.

कूर्चिकांश्च किलाटांश्च शौकरं गव्यमाहिषे

मत्स्यान्दधि च मायांश्च त शीलयेत्।

Caraka. Su. 5.9.

विश्रितं क्षीरं घनत्वमाप्न कूर्चिका।

Dalhana. on Susruta Su. 45.90.

⁷ Caraka. Su. 27.276, Susruta. Su. 46.384.

अधीटकं सुचिरपर्युचितस्यदधनः खण्डस्यथोडकापलानिशशिप्रभस्य।।

सुपिण्ठलं मधुपलं मरिचं द्विकर्मं शूष्ण्याः पलार्बंपलं चतुण्मि।।

शूष्मे पटे ललनया मृदुपाणिष्ठृटा कर्पूरस्यूलिमुरभीकृत पात्र संस्था।।

एयावृकोदरकृता तरसा रसाला याऽस्वादिता भगवता मधुसूदनेन।।

Cakrapāpi.

⁸ लवज्ञयोषकाण्डेष्टु दधि निर्मन्त्य गालितम्।

दातिमवीजसंयुक्तं चन्द्रचूणिवचूणितम्।।

सटुकं सुप्रमोदास्यं नलादिभिरुद्वाहृतम्।।

Dalhana.

MEAT DIET

Meat was considered a very nourishing diet.¹ It is prescribed for the weak, the convalescent and the people addicted to wine and women and for those doing excessive physical work.² Meat of goats, *Robita* fish, tortoises, deer, parrots, quails, partridges, hares, peacocks, and alligators was considered good for food.³ Other animals whose flesh was eaten were sheep, geese, cocks, porcupines, pigeons, cows, jackals, fish and some birds.⁴

For those whose digestive system was good or who took physical exercise daily the flesh of creatures which dart suddenly on their prey, living in holes underground, in marshy places, in water or walking in water was regarded as suitable.⁵ As the digestive system is generally in good order in winter the flesh of these animals is also recommended for the winter season.⁶

Dried or putrid flesh as well as the flesh of those animals which were diseased, old, emaciated or poisonous, of those bitten by snakes, of tender in age, of those fed on unnatural food and of those struck with a poisoned dart was avoided.⁷

¹ शरीरवृहणे नान्यत् स्वार्थं मांसाद् विशिष्यते।

Caraka. Su. 27.86.

² प्राणिनः सर्वभूतानां हृदो मांसरतः परम्

शुष्कतां व्याधिमृगतार्ता क्षावानां धीणरेतसाम्।

बलवणीर्थिनां चैव रसं विद्याद्यानुतम्।

सर्वरोगप्रशमनं यथा स्वविहितं रसम्।

विद्यात् स्वयं बलकरं वयोवृद्धीन्द्रियायुषाम्।

व्यायामनित्याः स्त्रीनित्याः मध्यनित्याश्च ये नराः।

नित्यं मांसरसाहारा नातुराः स्वतुं दुर्बलं।

Caraka. Su. 27. 312-315.

³ तत्र शालिपट्टिकमूद्यगलावकपिङ्गलएणशशाश्वरभशान्वरादीन्याहारद्रव्याणि प्रकृतिलघून्यपि मात्रापेक्षीणिभवन्ति।

Caraka. Su. V. 4.

⁴ ऐणोवं मूगमांसानां लावः पक्षिणां गोथा विलेशायानां रोहिती मत्स्यानां, . . . इति प्रकृत्यैव हिततमानामाहारविकाराणां प्राधान्यतो द्रव्याणि व्याकुलानि भवन्ति।

Caraka. Su. 25.38.

लावतित्तिरसारंगं कुरुङ्गैकपिङ्गलाः।

मयूरवर्मिकूमदिच्चं श्रेष्ठां मांसगणेणिवह्।

Susruta. Su. 46.333.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 27. 56, 58.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 6. 11-12.

⁷ मृतं कुशं चातिमेचं वृद्धं बालं विषेहंतम्।

अगोचरभूतम् व्यालसूवितवांसमूलज्ञेत्।

Caraka. Su. 27.311.

Meat soup, prepared with *vija* salt, cumin and asafoetida was considered a pleasant tonic.¹ Flesh was also cooked with fats, curds and sour gruel mixed with some aromatic spices.² Sometimes it was cooked in an oven (*Kandu*) with the powder of black mustard and some fragrant substances.³ Boneless flesh was boiled, and ground on a piece of stone to make a stuffing. Some aromatic spices such as long pepper, black pepper and ginger, *guda* and clarified butter were also added to it before use.⁴ Two varieties of stuffing (*vesavāra*) one sweet and the other saltish are mentioned.⁵ Seasoned meat, minced meat, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, fried in oil or clarified butter was relished.⁶

¹ प्रीणः प्राणजननः इवासकासक्षयापहः।

वातपित्तश्वमहरो हृद्योमांसरसः स्मृतः।

आप्यायनः संहृननः शुक्रदो बलवर्धनः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 359.61.

² स्नेहैर्मासैः कलैः कन्दैः वैदलाम्लैश्च संयुताः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 349.

स्नेहगोरसधान्याम्लफलाम्लकटुकैः सह, सिद्ध मांसं हिंत बल्यरोचनं वृह्णं गृह।

Susruta. Su. 46. 352.

³ पिशितं चौरभैलिपतं कन्दुपववम् मधुप्रभम्।

राजिकाकल्पितं च कन्दुपाचितमुच्चते।

Dalhana on Susruta. Su. 46.356.

⁴ मांसं निरस्थि सुस्विक्षं पुनर्दृष्टिं पेषितम्।

पिष्पलीशुणिठमरिचगुडसर्पिः समनिवतम्।

ऐकध्यं पाचयेत् सम्भग् देसवार इति स्मृतः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 365-66.

⁵ Susruta. Su. 46.364.

⁶ भूष्टं बहुधृते सिक्तं मुहुशणाम्बुना मृदु।

जीरकाद्वयं च मांसं परिशुष्कं तदुच्चते। तदेवगोरसादानं प्रदिग्धमिति अतम्।

Dalhana on Susruta Su. 46 Sl.353

उल्लुप्तं भजितं पिष्टं प्रतपतं कन्दुपाचितम्।

परिशुष्कं प्रदिग्धं च शूलं यज्ञान्यदीदुशम्।

मांसं यत्तैलसिद्धं तद् वीर्योर्णं पित्तकृद् गृहः।

Susruta. Su. 46.356-57.

भजितं स्थाद् पृतादी तु पिष्टवा यत्साधितं पुनः।

अपूपादिकृतं पिष्टं दधिदातिमसौरमैः।

सिद्धं साज्ज्वेस्तथाजागी सामुद्रमरिच्चेस्तवा

अज्ञारादिषु यत्पववं प्रतपतं तवुदाहृतम्।

तिक्तवा सिक्तवाम्बुधाराभिः विधुमेऽनौ प्रतापयेत्

कलाम्लेनापि यत्पववं शल्यं तत्सौरभान्वितम्।

Dalhana on the above

But daily use of seasoned meat is not recommended.¹ Meat was also cooked with rice, fruits and vegetables.² An omelet made of clarified butter, rice flour and eggs of crocodile was used by those addicted to excessive sexual indulgence.³ Just as in Manu, Yājñavalkya recommends meat diet for maintenance of life and on the occasion of sacrifices for gods or manes.⁴

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey continued to be widely used and eight varieties of honey are mentioned in the medical works.⁵ Of these the variety collected by small bees (*māksika*) was considered the best and that by big black bees (*bbrāmara*) was considered heavy to digest.⁶ The use of honey was considered particularly useful in the rainy season.⁷

Many varieties of sugarcane are mentioned.⁸ Of these the thin reed variety called *Vamsaka* was considered the best while

¹ वल्लरंगुष्कशाकानि शालूकानि विसानि च।
नाम्यसेद् गौरवान्मासं कृशं नैवोपयोजयेत्।

Caraka, Su. 5.10.

² Caraka Su. 27.266, Susruta, Su. 46.407.

³ तन्ते सर्पिणि नक्राण्डं ताङ्गचूडाण्डभिक्षितम्।
युक्तं पट्टिकचूर्जनं सर्पिणाऽभिनवेन च।
पक्तवा पूपलिका खारेद् वार्हनीमण्डपोनरः।
य इच्छेददववद् गत्वा प्रसेक्तुं गजवच्च यः।

Caraka, Cikitsa, II. 28-29.

⁴ ग्रतः शृणुष्व भासस्य विधि भक्षणवर्जिते।
प्राणात्यये तथा आदे प्रोक्तिर्तं द्विजकाम्यया।
देवान् पितॄन् समम्बर्ष्य खादन् मासं न दोषभाक्।

Yaj. I. 178-79

⁵ The eight varieties are *Māksika*, *Bbrāmara*, *Kṣandra*, *Pantika*, *Chātra*, *Ārgbya*, *Anḍḍalika* and *Dāla*.

⁶ पीत्तिकं भ्रामरं क्षीद्रं माक्षिकं छात्रमेव च।
आध्यमीद्विलिकं दालभित्यष्टीं मधुजातयः।

Susruta, Su. 45.133.

⁷ माक्षिकं भ्रामरं क्षीद्रं पीत्तिकं मधुजातयः।
माक्षिकं प्रबरं तेषां विशेषाद् भ्रामरं गृहः।

Caraka, Su. 27.242.

⁸ Caraka, Su. 6, Bhela, p. 25.

⁹ पौष्ट्रको भीष्मकश्चैव वंशकः इवेतपोरकः।
कान्तारस्तापसेन्दुश्च काण्डेशुः सूचिपत्रकः।
नैपालो दीर्घपत्रश्च नीलपोरोऽयं कोशकृत्।

Susruta, Su. 45. 149-150.

that grown in northern Bengal, called *Paupdra*, the next best.¹ The juice of sugarcane extracted by a machine was not considered good.² All the products of sugarcane *phāṇita*, (inspissated juice of sugarcane), *Guda*, red sugar, unrefined white sugar, crystal sugar and sugarcandy were widely used.³ It was believed that these products became cooler and sweeter as their whiteness increased as a result of purifying but became more and more difficult to digest.⁴ Sugar was also prepared with honey, *madbhūka* flowers and a grass called *Yavāsa*.⁵ *Matsyāṇḍikā* was a variety of sugarcandy, the crystals of which were globular in shape like the eggs of a fish.⁶

Sweets were prepared with wheat flour, milk and inspissated milk by the addition of honey, *guda* or sugar.⁷ Even the

¹ आनूपजोजाङ्गलजोवरिष्ठः सुभूमिजातो गुह वदचक्षुः।

सामुद्रपौण्ड्रेक्षुकवंशकानामिद्युः प्रशस्तस्तु परः परो यः।

Kasyapa Bhojana 103.

पीण्डकाद् वंशको वरः।

Caraka. Su. 27.237.

² यान्त्रिकस्तु विद्यते।

Caraka Su. 27.236.

गुहविदाहीचिष्टमी यान्त्रिकस्तु प्रकीर्तिः।

Susruta. Su. 45.158.

³ *Phāṇita*—Susruta. Su. 45.159.

Guda—Caraka. Su. 27, Susruta. Su. 45.158, Yaj. I. 303. Old *guda* was considered very efficacious as a medicine (Susruta Su. 45.161). A variety of *Guda* called *Kṣudraguda* was not considered good. Caraka. Su. 25.

According to Pāṇini the word *guda* is connected with *Gauda* region (East Bengal).

Gudāśarkarā (red sugar)—Caraka. Su. 27.240.

Sarkarā (crystal sugar)—Caraka. Su. 27.239, Susruta. Su. 45.162.

Khāpda (unrefined white sugar)—Caraka. Su. 27.239, Susruta. 45.162.

⁴ पश्चायपैषां वैमल्यं मधुरत्वं तथा तथा।

स्नेहाग्निरवशैत्यानि सरत्वं च तथा तथा।

Susruta. Su. 45.163.

⁵ *Madbhūkāśarkarā*—(sugar prepared from honey)—Susruta. Su. 45.166.

Yavāsa Śarkarā—sugar prepared from *Yavāsa* (a kind of grass)—Susruta. Su. 45.167.

Madbhūkāśarkarā (sugar prepared from *madbhūka* flowers) Susruta. Su. 45.169.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 27.239, Susruta. Su. 45.162.

⁷ *Sāmitāp*—Sweets prepared with powdered wheat flour.

F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 137, f. n. 5.

Kṣirakṛta bhakṣyāp—sweets prepared with milk—Susruta Su. 46.392.

Kārakāvīkyāp—Sweets prepared with inspissated milk.

F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 140, f. n. 4.

old preparations were made more tasteful by the addition of some new ingredients. In the preparation of *Sāriyāva* wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, sugar, cardamom, pepper and ginger were used.¹ *Gṛītapūra* was also prepared with these substances but thin pieces of kernel of cocoanut were added to it.² *Madbuśīrṣaka* or *Madbuśīroda* was a sweet which was prepared with wheat flour but had honey or clarified butter inside.³ *Pūpalikā* was a small cake of rice or wheat flour fried in ghee with *guḍa* inside.⁴ Sometimes a stuffing prepared with *Mudga* pulse was also used.⁵ Another sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter is called *Utkārikā*.⁶ *Vartikā* was a similar sweet preparation in the form of a roll.⁷

Gandika—Sweets prepared with treacle and wheat flour. *Susruta*. Su. 46.394.

The old sweets such as *modaka*, *pāpa* and *phānaka* were in common use. (*Susruta* Su. 46.395-399). *Pupas* were also prepared with milk and sugarcane juice (*Kārekṣurasa—pāpākāḥ*).

¹ मधुशीर्षकसंयावा: पूपा ये ते विशेषतः:

Susruta. Su. 46.392.

गोधूमसन्निता भवु दुखेन मोदयिता सुक्षीभनाम्
पचेद् धृत्तोत्तरे खाडे खिपेद् भाष्टे नवे ततः।
संयावोजसी युतश्चूर्णःस्थण्डलामरिचाद्रकैः।

Dalhana.

² मदिताः सन्निताः क्षीरनलिकेरसितादिभिः।

अवगाहा धृते पक्वो धृतपूरोऽयमुत्तमः।

Susruta. Su. 46.393.

गोधूमपटशुद्धिकां कीरेण संबर्च्च सर्पिषा विस्ताये पक्त्वा सितायुक्तां कुर्याद् इत्येष
हविष्युरः धेवर इतिलोके।

Sri Kaṇṭhadatta Vṛinda Siddhayoga.

³ *Susruta*. Su. 46.395.

समितावेष्टिताः पाकघनीभूताः मधुशूतोदराः मधुमस्तकाः त एव मधुशीर्षकाः।

Dalhana.

पाकघनीभूतमधुगर्भः गोधूमपिष्टकः वेष्टितः पक्वः सञ्चतुजातिकादि भक्षयविशेषः
मधुमस्तकः। अन्येतु गोधूमसन्नितां धृतयुक्तां तोये मर्दयित्वा वृत्तमपूर्णकृत्वा धृतेन पक्त्वा सिता-
युक्तं कुर्यादित्येष मधुमस्तकः।

Sri Kaṇṭhadatta Vṛinda Siddhayoga.

⁴ विमर्च्च समिताचूर्णं मृकुपाकं गुडान्वितम्।

पृतावगाहे गुडिकां वृतां पक्वां सकेशराम्।

सौगन्धिकाभिवासांच कुर्यात्पूपलिकां वृधः।

Nala quoted by *Cakrapāṇi*.

⁵ *Mudga Vesavāra*—*Susruta*. Su. 46.399.

⁶ *Utkārikā*—*Caraka*. Ci. 2, *Sweets prepared with milk treacle and ghee*.

⁷ *Vartikā*—*Sweets in the form of a roll*.

Also see *Vigyananda* F. D. A. I. Ch. V. p. 137, f. n. 2.

SALT, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

Caraka mentions five varieties of salts¹—rock salt, *sauvarcal*, *bida*, *andbbida* and sea salt. Suśruta adds some more varieties.² Of all these varieties the rock salt was considered the best.³

A number of spices were used for seasoning but the most common were long pepper, black pepper, ginger, asafoetida, cumin, coriander and cardamom. Some green leaves and fruits were also used in the preparation of various dishes.⁴ The use of onions and garlic is interdicted in the Smṛtis.⁵ Of all the aromatic spices long pepper and dry ginger were regarded the best.⁶

Sour gruel was prepared with cooked rice or barley.⁷ Vinegar was prepared with butter milk mixed with *gūḍa* or honey. The mixture was fermented by keeping the pot containing the mixture in a heap of corn.⁸ Dalhaṇa mentions three varieties

¹ सौवर्चलं सैन्धवं च विडमौद्भिदमेवच ।

सामुद्रेण सहृतानि पञ्चस्पुर्ववणानि च ।

Caraka Su. I. 88-89.

² The additional varieties mentioned by Suśruta are—*Romaka*, *Vālkaila*, *Sailamūlakarodbhava*, *Uṣara*, *Gujikā*, *Yavakṣāra*, *Svarjikākṣāra*, *Pākima* and *Takkapakṣāra*. (Suśruta. Su. 46. 320-322).

³ सैन्धवं लवणेषु च ।

Susruta. Su. 46.336.

⁴ Caraka. Su. 27. 164-175, 294-297.

Asafoetida is called *Bābilika* by Bhela which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.

⁵ पलाष्ठु विड् बराहं च छत्राकं ग्रामकुकुटम्

लशुनं गृजनंचैव जन्मध्या चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।

Yaj. I. 176.

⁶ Dry ginger is called a panacea (*Viśrabbeṣaja*) in Caraka. Su. 25.37.

धात्री दाहिमम्लेषु पिप्पली नागरं कटी ।

Susruta. Su. 46.336.

⁷ Two varieties of sour gruel, one prepared with the husk of cereals (*tusāmbu*, Susruta. Su. 45. 213) and the other with grains (*dbānyāmbu*, Susruta Su. 45.214) were in use. Sour gruel was considered good for sea faring men.

समुद्रमाश्रितानां च जनानां सात्म्यमुच्छते ।

Susruta. Su. 45.216.

⁸ यन्मस्त्वादिशुचीभाष्टे सगुडक्षीद्रकाञ्जिकम् ।

धान्यराशी त्रिरात्रस्य शुक्रं चुक्रं तदुच्छते ।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka. Su. 27.284.

Cf. Kasyapa. Bhojana 46.

of vinegar prepared from *guḍa*, juice of sugarcane and honey.¹ Vegetables such as radish and gourd were preserved in vinegar.²

A sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, *Parīṣaka* and *citrus medica* was called *Rāga*. Black mustard was used to make it pungent and sugar-candy to sweeten it.³ Jellies prepared with fruit juices were called *Sādavas*.⁴

According to another interpretation *Rāgasādava* was a preparation of green mango fruit. The fruit was boiled, the skin removed and treacle added to the juice. It was fumigated with oil and dry ginger and some salt and spices were added to it before use.⁵ A preparation of curds with *Kapittha* and *Cāṅgeri*, pepper, cumin and some other spices was called *Khaḍa*,⁶ but when oil, sesamum, and māṣa were added to it, it was called *Kāmbalika*.⁷

OILS AND OILSEEDS

Among the fats used in food Caraka mentions, clarified butter, oils and animal fats, *Vasd* and *Majjā*. He recommends

¹ गुडाम्बुना सतेलेन सन्धानं का अज्जकन्तु यत्
कन्दवाकफलैर्युक्तं गुडशुक्तं तदुच्चयते।
रसशब्दवतानि इत्युरसादिकृतां ने
जम्बूरसय फलरस पिण्डीम् लसंबुलम्।
मधुभाष्टे विनिक्षिप्य धान्यराशौ । निधापयेत्
ऋहेण तज्जातरसं मधुशुक्तमुद ग्रहतम्।

Dalhana on Susruta. Su. 45.212.

² Vegetables preserved in v. inegar were called *Āśata*.

शुक्तमध्यस्थितं मूलकवृज्वाण्डादि ।

Susruta. Su. 45.211.

³ खितारुचकसिन्धूत्यैः सवृक्षाम्लपृष्ठ शकैः।
जम्बूफलरसैर्युक्तो रागो राजिकय अन्वितः।

⁴ पाढवस्तु मधुराम्लद्रव्यकृतः।

Kasyapa. Bhojana. 48.

⁵ कवचितन्तु गुडोपेतं सहकारकलं न वम्।
तैलनागरसंयुक्तं विशेषोरागपाढवः।

Caraka. Su. 27.

⁶ कृपित्यतक्तव्याङ्गेरी मरिचाजाजिचित् इकैः।
सुपचवः खड्यूथोऽयमय कान्वलिः होपरः।
दध्यस्त्वलवणस्नेहतिलमाषसुमन्वितः।

Nala quoted by Dalhana.

⁷ दधिचस्त्वम्लसिद्दस्तु यूषः कान्वलिः स्मृतः।

Susruta. Su. 46.381.

the use of clarified butter in autumn, animal fats in spring and oil in the rainy season. Of all the fats clarified butter was considered the best.¹ Among the oils sesamum oil was regarded as the best medium for cooking or frying but daily use of oils is not recommended.² A number of other seeds are mentioned from which oil was extracted and used in food.³

Caraka appears to have been familiar with the early use of oil by the non-Aryans. He states that by using oils the kings of *Daiiyas* conquered old age, remained healthy, did not feel tired and fought bravely in the battles.⁴ But Suśruta does not recommend their excessive use because food articles cooked in oils are difficult to digest.⁵

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The medical works mention a number of old fruits but add some new varieties and new fruits. *Jauñira* is a new variety of

¹ सर्वप्रसंसेनं वसामज्जा सर्वस्नेहोत्तमा मताः।

एषु चैवोत्तमं सर्पिः संस्कारत्यान् वर्तनात्। ११३।

सर्पिः शरदि पातब्यं वसामज्जा च माधवे।

तैलं प्रावृद्धिं नात्युण्णशीते स्नेहं पिबेत्तरः। ११४।

Caraka. Su. 13.13, 18.

² सर्वेषां तैलजातानां तिलतैलं विशिष्यते।

Caraka. Su. 13.12.

नित्यानित्यपात्मविधी तिलतैलं घृते वृथः प्रयुड जीत।

Kasyapa. 17.9.

सर्वं म्यस्तिवहू तैलेभ्यस्तिलतैलं विशिष्यते।

Susruta. Su. 45.130.

³ Bhela mentions *sesamum*, *eranda*, *lalva*, *vibhitaka*, *kseti*, *karanja* and *ragudi* among the oilseeds from which oil was extracted.—Bhela. p. 49.

Caraka also mentions *Sarsapar* (mustard), *Priyāla*, *Atasi* (linseed), *Kusumabha* (safflower)—Caraka. Su. 27. 281-90.

तिलः प्रियालानिषुकी विभीतकशिच्चाभयैः एषमधूकं सर्वपाः।

कुसुमभ्यं विल्वास्त्रकमूलकातसी निकोचकादोषं करञ्जं विप्रकाः।

Caraka. Su. 13.10.

⁴ तैलप्रयोगादजरानिर्विकारा जितथमाः।

आसन्नतिवला संख्ये दैत्याधिपतयः पुरा।

Caraka. Su. 27.286.

Probably, on account of its exotic nature, Patañjali refers to the belief that a Brāhmaṇa should not sell oil.

तैलं न विक्रेतव्यम्।

Mahābhāṣya Kielhorn Pt. I. p. 25.

⁵ विदाहिनस्तैलकृता गुरवः कटुपाकिनः।

उण्णा मारहदृष्टिभ्याः पित्तलास्त्वक् प्रयुक्षणाः।

Susruta. Su. 46.406.

jujube besides the old three. Oranges (*nāgaranīga*), *Bhavya* (*Dellenia speciosa*) and *Pārāvata* are some of the new fruits. Two varieties of grapes, pomegranates and *Parūṣakas*, one sweet and the other sour are mentioned.¹

Among the best fruits Suśtuta mentions pomegranates, *āmalaka* (emblic myrobalan), grapes, dates, *parūṣaka*, *rājādana*, and *mātlalunga* (citrus medica).² We learn from Yuan Chwang that peaches and peaches were introduced into India by the Chinese in the first century A.D.³ In the Bhārhut railings and the Stūpa of Sāñcī there is a figure of an Indo-Greek king holding a bunch of grapes with a vine leaf attached to it. It indicates that grapes imported from the North West of India.⁴ Some dry fruits such as almonds, walnuts, pistachio were also used.⁵ All fruits diseased and eaten by maggots, over ripe, unseasonal and unripe were avoided.⁶ Bhela especially recommends the use of *āmalaka*, *barītaki* and *vibbitaki*.⁷

¹ Cāraka. : mentions the following fruits :—

Grapes, cocoanut, *bhavya* (mulberry), *karīra*, *bimbī*, *pīlu*, *trāṇīnya* (pome medica), *kare*, *akṣoṭa*, *mukū*, *dantālatba*, *kudumbara*, *pl.* date, *phalgu*, *parūṣaka*, *bassia-latifolia*, *āmrātaka*, palm fruit, *a*, *badarā*, *ārūka*, *karkandbu*, *lakuka*, *pārāvata*, *kālmaryapbala*, *tūda* (*rica*), *kapittha*, *bilva*, mango, *jambū*, *sīcītikd* (apples), *gāngeruka*, *todana*, *dhāvanā*, *panasa* (jack fruit), *mota* (banana), *bbārīpbala*, *vikanākata*, *prāciñāmalaka*, *īngudīpbala*, *tinduka*, *āmalaka*, *vibbitaki*, *granate*, *vrkṣāmla*, *amlika* (tamarind), *amlavetata*, *mātlalunga* (citrus *ura*, *nāgaranīga* (oranges), *vāñčāma* (almond), *abbītūka* (pistachio), *laka*, *nikocaka*, *urumāna*, *śleṣmātaka*, *ankoṭa*, *sāmīpbala*, *karatīja*, *aramardaka*, *vārtāka*, *paryatakīpbala*, *āksikīpbala*, *ānupaki*, *atvattī*, *ikṣa*, *nyagrodha* and *bballātaka*.

Cāraka. Su. 27. 122-62.

C.f. Susruta. Su. 46, 139, 163, 177, 182, 187, 190-96.

² वार्षिक माघलके द्राक्षा सर्जूरं सपरुषकम्

राजा इनं भातुलुङ्गं फलवर्गं प्रशस्यते।

Susruta. 46.335.

For condiments and jellies prepared from sour fruits please see 'Spices and Condiments' F. D. A. I. Chapter V p. 147.

³ W. H. St. Vol. I. p. 179. See F. D. A. I. p. 183, f. n. 1.

⁴ Cf. Cunningham—Bhārhut, pp. 32-33.

⁵ G. Rindwedel—Buddhist Art, p. 34, Fig. 10.

⁶ च लामाक्षोडाभिषुक्निचुलपिचुनिकोषकोरुमाणप्रभृतीनि ।

Susruta. Su. 46.187.

⁷ च याधितं कृमिजुटं च पाकातीतमकालजम् ।

चर्जनीयं फलं सर्वमपर्याप्तमेव च ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 210.

⁸ अभूक्तवामलकं खादेद् भुक्तता चापि हरीतकीम्

परिणामे च भुक्तस्य खादेन्नैव विभीतकीम् ।

Bhela. p. 13.

A number of vegetables were in use.¹ flowers, leaves, fruits, stems and bulbs. Of these one is heavier of digestion than the one immediate it in the order of enumeration.² Pot herbs and plants which are found to be rough or putrefied as well as those growing in an improper or uncultivated out of season were avoided as unfit for pot herbs *satina*, *vastuka*, *cūcū*, *cilli*, green radish and *jivanli* were regarded as the best.⁴ Leaves of mustard were considered to be the worst.⁵ *Pafol* (brinjal) were among the good fruits.⁶ Daily use of roots is not recommended probably because they are difficult to digest. Some dry vegetables such as *māla* are used.⁷ Soup prepared with the tender leaves of

These included each succeeding leaf of edible or worm-eaten congenial soil or use.³ Of the *i*, *mandukaparni* and stalks of *l* and *Värtäka* of lotus stalks they were difficultish were also pot herbs was

¹ Caraka mentions the following vegetables :—

Päjä, sujä, safl, västuka, suni¹ jaanaka, kääkamäet, räjakä, amlacangeri, upodikä, taapulüya, manđukaparri, veträgra, kucela, vanjaka, avalguja, paftola, sakuläddani, vrpuupa, sõranguje, kembri nädi, kalduja, (pea), gojihva, värtsakä (brinjal), Hlaparni, kulaka, parpaşa, mudgaparri, märaparri, pbañji, cilli, katumbaka, äluka, kruupa, sälmalipupsa, karbuddra, swarcala, nispäva, kovidära, pattura, kumtarajiva, loffaka, pälchki, marisa, kalamba, nälükä, äsrit (bl. kusumumba), vrkadibumaka, lakişwana, prapunada, halini, kucheraka, loi kühmändä, avalgujä, yäntuka, fälakafähni triparri, pänuparri.

Leaves of nyagrodha, udumbara, asvattha, plakṣa, lotus, vatsa, citraka, treyaśi, biloḍaparṇī, biloḍapatra, bhāṣṇī, latāvarī, baldā, jñāvanti, uṇupūrī, lāṅgālakī, urubhīka, tila, vetaśa, pañcaṅguli, kuṇumabbha, traṭṭu, alabhu, cibbīta, kūṣmāṇḍa, utvāruka, keluta, kadamba, nadimāgakā, aim, tālapralambha, kharjurā, fālaśarya, tarṇa, fāluka, kranṇeśadana, kāserukā, akalodya, kumuda, utpala (stalks, flowers and fruits,) puṣkarabija, vidārikanda, amlikākanda, sarjapa fāka, pindālu, cbastṛāka, ādānt, gaṇḍāra, patvāni, par-ja, erārūka, iuka, utpala, t, sthāgatāka, muñjātaka,

^३ पुरुषं पत्रं फलं नालं कन्दाइचगारवः क्रमात् ।

(Caraka, Su, 27 81 5-121).

³ Suśruta, Su. Śākavattra, 46, 297.

Susruta, Su. 46. 24 36.

⁴ सर्वीनो वास्तवक्षत्वं चिल्ली महावस्त्रोतिवा:।

Susruta : Su- 46.334-

5 Caraka. Su. 25.

* तिवते पटोलवार्ताकि मधुरे घृतमुच्चयते ।
कौद्रं पुगफलं श्वेठं काषाये सप्तरूपकम्

Suśruta, Su. 46, 337.

^७ बल्लूरुं शुष्कशाकानि शालूकानि विसानि च।
नाभ्यसेद् गौरवान्मांसं कृष्णं नैवोपयोजयेत्॥

Caraka, Su. 5.10.

called *khabda*.¹ Another preparation of pot herbs was called *sindāki*. The pot herb was boiled and water squeezed out of it. Then some aromatic spices such as black cumin and black mustard were added to it and cakes formed of it. It was very much liked in *Subma* country.²

INTOXICATING DRINKS

All the medical works prescribe a limited use of wines and consider this habit good for health, especially in the winter season.³ Caraka regards drinking as pleasing, digestive, nourishing and providing intelligence, if it is indulged in a proper manner.⁴ Excessive use of intoxicating liquors is interdicted, particularly in the summer and rainy seasons.⁵ The Bhela *Saṁhitā* gives recipes of many beverages which were taken to do away with the effect of excessive drinking. This makes us infer that there were some people who were in the habit of drinking too much.⁶

Intoxicating drinks prepared with barley, rice,⁷ sugar,

¹ सुहाकपल्लवेन कृतोयूषः खड़ाः।

Cakrapāṇi on Caraka Su.13.23

C.f. Suśruta. Su. 46.378.

² Suśruta. Su. 46.382.

मूलकादि शाकमेव किञ्चित् स्त्रियां कृष्णं सुगन्धिकटुकद्रव्यान्वितं घटकीकृतं सुहर्षेम् सिंडाकीत्युच्यते।

Dalhana on the above.

Suhma—part of Rādha country. Districts of Hooghly, Hawrah, Bankura and Bardwan and the eastern portion of Midnapur.

³ बृहृणं नेदूशं किञ्चित्स्थानसहितामुरा।

तां तु रक्षो विशेषेण नातिभावं समाचरेत्।

Bhela. p. 32.

⁴ लोतसां शोधनं जीर्णं दीपनं लघु रोकनम् । १६१।

हर्षणं ग्रीणनं बल्पं भयशोकशमापहम् ।

प्रागलभ्य वीर्यं प्रतिभा तुर्विट पुष्टिबलप्रदम् । १६२।

सात्विकं विधिवद्युक्त्या पीतं स्पादमूलम् यथा।

Caraka. Su. 27. 191-193.

⁵ प्रमाणेन पिबेन्नद्यं नाति सेवेत् पण्डितः।

युक्त्यात् सेव्यमानं तत्पानममृतमृच्यते।

Bhela p. 217.

सुरा कृशानां पुष्ट्यर्थमनुपानं विधीयते।

Caraka. Su. 27.323.

⁶ See F. D. A. I. Chapter V. p. 159.

⁷ *Surd* (prepared from barley or rice paste).

सुरा समण्डायवानाम्

Caraka. Su. 27.188.

It was also prepared from *madbūlikā* variety of wheat. Other varieties of intoxicating drinks prepared from cereals were:—

(a) *Prasannā* (cream of *surd*)—Suśruta. Su. 45.178.

boiled and unboiled juice of sugarcane, *guḍa*¹ and *vibbitaka*² were in common use. Sometimes in the preparation of these intoxicating drinks in place of water *sūrā* was used and it was called *sūrāsava*.³ Liquors were also prepared with *madbhūka* (*Bassia latifolia*) flowers and honey.⁴ Wine was also used.⁵ Suśruta also mentions liquor prepared from dates.⁶ All the varieties mentioned by Kauṭilya were in use in this period. Distilled liquors were also used.⁷

In the Viṣṇudharma Sūtra (c. 100 A.D. to c. 300 A.D.) we come across a prohibition against the use by Brāhmaṇas of ten kinds of intoxicating drinks prepared from *Madbhūka* flowers, sugarcane juice, fruit of kapittha, jujube, dates, jack fruit, grapes, honey, and cocoanut, the tenth variety being *maireyaka*, the spiced liquor.

- (b) *Jagala* (residue of wine)—Caraka. Su. 27.179, Suśruta. Su. 45.180.
- (c) *Bakkasa* (solid ingredients of *sūrā* devoid of liquid)—Suśruta. Su. 45.181.
- (d) *Kobala* (prepared from parched barley flour). Suśruta. Su. 45.180.
मुरामणः प्रसन्ना स्पात् ततः कादम्बरी चना।
तदपो जगलोजेयो मेवको जगलाद् चनः।
बवकसः हृत्सारः स्पात् मुराबीं च विष्वकम्।

Dravyaguna Vijñāna Pt. II. p. 3.

¹ *Sarkarāśidbu*, *Sarkarāsava* (prepared from sugar)—Caraka. Su. 27.183, Suśruta. Su. 45.183.

² *Pakvarasa sidbu* (prepared from boiled juice of sugarcane)—Suśruta. Su. 45.184.

³ *Sītarasa sidbu* (prepared from unboiled juice of sugarcane)—Suśruta. Su. 45.185.

⁴ *Gudāśidbu* or *Gudāsava* (prepared from treacle and flowers of *abhataki*)—Caraka. Su. 27.184.

⁵ *Ākṣikīśidbu* (prepared from the bark of *ākṣi*)—Caraka. Su. 27.184.

⁶ *Sūrāsava*—Caraka. Su. 27.185, Suśruta. Su. 45.187.

⁷ *Mādbavī*—(prepared from *madbhūka* flowers)—Caraka. Su. 6.39, 27.185, Suśruta. Su. 45.190.

Madbu or *madbhūtava* (prepared from honey)—Caraka. Su. 27.187.

⁸ *Mārdvīka* (prepared from grapes)—Suśruta. Su. 45.172.

⁹ *Khārjūra* (prepared from dates, Suśruta. Su. 45.174). It was also called *Vāruṇī*.

या तालखर्जूरसैरासूता साहि वाहणी।

Dravya Guṇa Vijñāna. II. p. 33

⁷ An intoxicating drink in which the solid ingredients predominate is called *ariṣṭa*, one in which the liquid part predominates is called *āsava* and the liquor in which both are equally important is called *madja* (Suśruta. Su. 45.194).

द्रव्यप्रधानमरिष्टं द्रव्यप्रधानं आसवः उभयप्रधानमद्यम्।

Dalhapa.

It makes us infer that these were the popular drinks with the non-Brahmanical classes.¹

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

For drinking purposes the rich, who were accustomed to taking dainties, used pure rain water especially in the rainy season.² Other sources of drinking water were wells, rivers, lakes, tanks, waterfalls and springs. It is laid down that in the rainy season either pure rainwater or boiled well or spring water should be used. In the winter season water from lakes and tanks should be used. Water from waterfalls or wells was used in the spring and summer seasons.³ It was believed that water of rivers flowing towards the west was easily digestible while that of rivers flowing towards the east was considered difficult to digest.⁴

Water having small insects or foul smell, thick, dirty or sticky was considered unfit for drinking,⁵ but dirty water could be purified by mixing it with *kataka*, *gomedaka*, lotus root, *saivālāmala*, pearls or alum and straining it in a piece of cloth.⁶ Hot water was cooled in many ways, by immersing a water pitcher in cool water, by exposing water to currents of cool breeze, by

¹ माधूकमैक्षवं टाङ्कं कौलं स्नान्युपानसे।
मृदीका रस माधूकोंके मैरेयं नारिकेलजम्।
अमेघ्यानि दशीतानि मध्यानि ज्ञाहृणस्य च।
राजन्यद्वैववेश्यश्च स्पृष्ट्वैतानि न दुष्प्रिति।

Vishnu Dh. Su. 22.83-84.

² सर्वानुपानेषु वरं वदन्ति मैथ्यं वदन्मः शुचिभाजनस्यम्।

Susruta. Su. 46.421.

Pure rain water is called *Gāṅga* while the impure one is named *sāmudra* (Susruta. Su. 45.7).

C.f. Susruta. Su. 45.3, Caraka. Su. 27.194.

³ तत्र वचस्वान्तरिक्षमैद्विदं वा सेवेत महागुणत्वात्; शरीरि सर्वं प्रसन्नत्वात्; हेमस्ते सारसं ताडागं वा, वसन्ते कौपं प्रासवण्वा, गीष्मेव्येवं; प्रावृष्टि चौष्ट्यमनभिवृष्टं सर्वं चेति।

Susruta. Su. 45.8.

⁴ तत्रनयः पश्चिमाभिमूखाः पश्या: लघूदकत्वात् पूर्वाभिमुखास्तु न प्रशस्यन्ते गुरुदकत्वात्।
Susruta. Su. 45.21.

C.f. Caraka. Su. 27.207.

⁵ एच्छिलं कृमिलं किंलग्नं पर्णशैवालकदंगैः।

विवर्णविरसं साम्बद्धुर्गन्धं न हितं जलम्।

Caraka. Su. 27. 213-214.

C.f. Kasyapa. p. 358, Susruta. Su. 45. 9-11.

⁶ तत्र सप्त कलुपस्य प्रसादनानि भवन्ति। तद्यथा कृतक, गोमेवक, विसर्गन्थि, शैवालमूल, वस्त्राणि मुक्ता मणिश्चेति।

Susruta. Su. 45.17.

churning it with a stick, by fanning, by siphoning it by means of a piece of linen, by burying the pitcher underneath a bed of sand and keeping it suspended on a pendent bracket.¹ Five kinds of stands were used for keeping water pots.²

Besides warm and cool water, liquors, soups of cereals, sour gruel and fruit juices, there were some other beverages which were used to aid digestion.³ Two kinds of syrups were prepared from treacle one sweet and the other sour. In the sour syrup the juice of such fruits as grapes and tamarind was used. Sometimes some aromatic spices were added to make it more tasty.⁴ Syrups were also prepared with grapes, *parasaka*, jujube, dates, honey and the juice of sugarcane.⁵

The Bhela Samhitā gives the recipe of a beverage which was very effective in quenching thirst. It was prepared with pounded berries, treacle, black pepper, saffron, cardamom and the juice of *Jāti* flowers.⁶ Another syrup was called *Kāśmarya-*

¹ सप्तशीतीकरणानिभवन्ति, तद्यथा प्रवातस्थापनम् उदकप्रक्षेपणं, यज्विकाभ्रामणं, अ्यजनं, वस्त्रोषरणम् बालुका प्रक्षेपणं शिक्षावलम्बनं चेति ।

Susruta. Su. 45.19.

² पञ्चनिशेपाणि भवन्ति । तद्यथा—फलकंञ्चटक मुङ्जवलयः, उदक भूत्विका, शिक्ष-ञ्चेति ।

Susruta. Su. 45.18.

³ शीतोष्णोदासव मध्यूष फलाम्ल धान्याम्लपयो रसानाम् ।

यस्यानुपानंतुहितं भवेद्यत्तस्मै प्रदेयं त्विह मात्रयातत् ।

Susruta. Su. 46.419.

सुखेनपाचयत्यन्नं रोचयत्यपकर्षेति

अनुपानं मनुध्याणां सात्पत्तां च प्रयच्छति ।

Bhela. XVII. p. 17.

⁴ गौडमलमनम्लं वा पानकं गृहमूत्रलम् ।

तदेव लण्ठमृदीकाशकरासहितं पुनः

साम्लं सतीष्वरं सहित्यपानकं स्यान्निरत्ययम् ।

Susruta. Su. 46.389.

कपित्यविलवदरद्राक्षाडिमचूतजैः

फलयूषं फलैरामै जीर्णतीसारनाशनम् ।

Kasyapa. p. 250.46.

⁵ द्राक्षाखंजुरकोलानां गुणविष्टभिपानकम्

पर्णयकाणां क्षीद्रस्य यज्ज्वेलुविकृति प्रति ।

Caraka. Su. 27.274.

⁶ कर्कन्धं वदराणां च प्रस्थं कुर्यात् सुकुटिम् ।

सप्रस्थं गालयंत्तोये सप्त कुटवः पुनः पुनः

मूष्मये तत्रवे भाष्टे स्वनुगृष्टं निधापयेत् ।

द्वे च दद्याद्गुडपले शकरायाः पलं तथा ।

pānaka. It was given to a person who drank excessively.¹

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The authors of our medical works knew the value of cooking articles of food on a slow fire.² Besides the old preparations of cereals, meat, vegetables and fruit they describe some new dishes such as a soup from parched rice, preparations of boiled pulses, or sprouted grains. They also mention some condiments prepared from fruits and vegetables preserved in vinegar. No preparations could be considered good for health unless one knows the properties of various substances and the effect of mixing various substances. For this reason there is a detailed description of these in the medical works. They have a separate section for cooked articles and describe in detail which preparations are easily digestible and which are difficult to digest. Caraka says that spiced soups are more difficult to digest than unspiced ones.³ The same writer states that preparations fried in oil or clarified butter are difficult to digest while those parched without these fats are easily digestible.⁴

सूक्ष्मं च मरिचात्कर्पं चतुर्थकेसरस्य च
त्वक्पत्रं भरणेदेच सूक्ष्मैलाकर्पेनेव च।
अमृणालाधकर्पं च सूक्ष्मचूर्णानि कार्येत्।
जातीरससभोवेतं पानकं पानविभ्रमे।

Bhela. p. 218.

¹ To make this *pānaka* juices of *kāshmarya*, pomegranates, grapes, *madhūka*, and *parīṣaka* were mixed with the powder of *kufaja*, *madhūka*, *lodhra*, *mañjūjjha*, cardamom, pepper and filament of blue lotus and water was added to the mixture.

काश्वर्यं दाढिमं द्राशा मधुकं सपरूपकम्
कुटजनिं च संकुश्य प्रक्षिप्तु जलाङ्गके।
सूक्ष्मैला मधुकं लोधम् मञ्जूज्ज्ञा पिपलीतथा
एतानि सूक्ष्म चूर्णानिदद्वात्पानं च युक्तितः।
केतरं चात्रदातव्यं पुण्यनीलोत्पलस्य च।
एतत्पानात्पये देयं तृष्णार्चिनिवारणम्।

Bhela. p. 219.

² मूद्याकाश्च ये भक्ष्याः स्थूलाश्च कठिनाश्च ये।
गुरवत्तौ व्यतिक्रान्तपाकाः पुण्डिदलप्रदाः।

Caraka. Su. 27.270.

³ अहृतं कृतयूषं च तनुं सांस्कारिकं रसम्।
सूपमस्तमनस्त्रं च गुहं विद्याद्यथोत्तरम्।

Caraka. Su. 27, 257.

⁴ सन्तेहाः सन्तेहसिद्वाश्च भक्ष्या विविधलक्षणाः
गुरवस्तपौणा वृष्ट्या हृशा गोभूमिका भताः।

The kitchen was to be clean and uncongested, and cooks reliable. Clarified butter was served in a vessel of iron, beverages like meat soups in a silver vessel, fruits and sweets on leaves, seasoned and fried meat preparations in vessels of gold, all kinds of fruit preparations in vessels of stone, boiled milk in a copper vessel, water, syrups and intoxicating drinks in earthenware and Rāga, Sattaka and Sādava in vessels of glass or precious stones.¹

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the previous period the practice of offering food to gods, forefathers, dogs, crows and extending hospitality to guests was common. Just as in the Manusmṛti, children, daughter, newly married girls, pregnant women, guests and servants were fed before the householder and his wife took their meals.² The old practice of cooking a big ox or a big goat for a Vedic scholar is mentioned by Yājñavalkya.³ It is possible that the animals may have been let off after being presented to the distinguished guest for slaughter and not actually killed as was suggested in the Asv. Gr. Su. I. 24-25.

Purity in food is emphasised as before both in medical works and the Smṛtis. They lay down that the place where a person takes his meals should be clean. Food should be served in clean

सुस्काराल्लभवः सन्ति भक्ष्याः गोधूमं वैचिकाः ।
धानापर्णटपूपाचास्तान् बुद्ध्वाग्निर्दिशेत्पूषः ।

Caraka. Su. 27, 266-67.

Susruta. Su. 46.446.

¹ वृथाम्यतः परं कृत्स्नामाहारस्योपकल्पनाम्
धूतं काण्डीवसे देवं पेवा देवातु राजते । ४४६
फलानि सर्वभृश्यांश्च प्रदद्यादृ दलेषु तु
परिशुष्कप्रदिग्धानि सौवेण्यु प्रकल्पयेत् । ४५० ।
प्रदवाणि रसांश्चैव राजतेषु पहारयेत् ।
कट्वराणि खडांश्चैव सर्वज्ञेषु लेपयेत् । ४५१ ।
दद्यात्तात्रमये पात्रे सुशीतं सुशृतं पयः ।
पानीयं पानकं मद्यं मून्मयेषु प्रदापयेत् । ४५२ ।
काचस्फटिकपात्रेषु शीतलेषु शुभेषु च ।
वद्याद् वैद्वर्यविक्रीषु रागयाडबसद्गान् । ४५३ ।

Susruta. Su. 46 and 450-453.

² Vishnu. Dh. Su. LXVII, Yajna. V 102, 105, 108, 111.

³ यहोक्त वा महाजं वा ओत्रियायोपकल्पयेत् सत्तिक्यान्वासनं स्वादुबोजनं सूनूतं वचः ।
Yaj. I, 109.

utensils by clean servants.¹ The Smṛtis lay down almost all those rules which Manu has laid for avoiding food having impure substances or offered by undesirable persons. But the list has been amplified, in this period, by the addition of a person who does not perform a sacrifice, a miser, a prisoner, a thief, a eunuch, a person who charges a very high rate of interest.² Of the Sudras the food offered by a family servant, a cowherd, a family friend, and a family barber could be accepted. Food articles fried in clarified butter could be eaten even if they were kept overnight. Preparations of wheat, barley, or milk could be eaten even if they were not cooked in clarified butter.³

¹ तस्मात्काले सातम्यं मात्रावदुष्णं स्तिरधर्मविरोधि शुचौदेशे शुचिषु ग्राह्येषुशुचिपरिचरेण-
पनीतं प्राङ्मुखसूत्राण्यस्तन्मना आल्वादयन्नातिद्रुतं नातिविलम्बितं नात्युष्णं नातिशीतं नाति-
रुक्षं, नातिस्तिर्धं, नातिवहु नातिस्तोकं नातिद्रवद् नातिशुष्कम् नाकांशितौ न प्रतान्तो नैकरसं
वाऽरोग्यायुक्तार्थी सम्भवनीयात्।

Kasyapa. Khila. V. 3.

C.f.

उण्मात्रानीयात्, स्तिरधर्ममनीयात्, मात्रावदशनीयात् जीर्णेज्ञनीयात्, वीर्याविरुद्धमनी-
यात् इष्टेदेशे इष्टसर्वोपकरणं चादीनीयात् नातिद्रुतमनीयात्, नातिविलम्बितमनीयात्, प्रजल्पम-
हसन् लन्मना भुज्जीत। आत्मनमभिसमीक्ष्य भुज्जीत सम्बक्।

Caraka. Vimana. I. 30.

² अग्निहीनस्य नान्नमन्नादनापदि । १६०

कदर्यवद्धचौराणां कलीवरंगावतारिणाम् ।

वैणाभिशस्त वार्षिक्य गणिका गणदीक्षिणाम् । १६१

चिकित्साकातुरुद्धुर्पुरुश्चलीमत्त विद्विषाम् ।

कूरोग पतित व्रात्य दाम्भिकोच्छिष्टभोजिनाम् । १६२

अबीरस्त्री स्वर्णकार स्त्रीजित ग्राघयाजिनाम् ।

शस्त्रविक्रय कर्मार तनुवाय इववृत्तिनाम् । १६३

नृशंसराज रजक कृतञ्च वधजीविनाम् ।

थैल धाव सुराजीव सहोपयति वेशमनाम् । १६४

एषमन्नं न भोक्तव्यम् सोमविकायिणस्तया ।

गौद्रातं शकुनोच्छिष्टं पदास्युष्टं च कामतः । १६५

पितृता नूतिनोच्छवेत तथा चाकिक वन्दिनाम् ।

अनचित् वृथामांसं केशकीटसमन्वितम् । १६६

शुक्रं पर्युषितोच्छिष्टं इवस्युष्टं पतितेकितम् ।

उदकपास्युष्टं संघुष्टं पर्याप्तं च वर्जयेत् । १६७

Yaj. I. 160-167.

³ शुद्धेष्वदासगोपालकुलमित्रावसूरिणः

भोज्याक्षानानपितृहृष्टं यश्चात्मानं निवेदयेत् । १६८

अन्नं पर्युषितं भोज्यं स्नेहाक्षाचिरसंभृतम् ।

अस्नेहा अपि गोधूमयवगोरसविकिया । १६९

Yaj. I. 168-169.

The Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra lays down that a person should not eat during an eclipse of the moon or of the sun or when a cow, a Brāhmaṇa or a king meets with an accident,¹ nor must he eat bad food nor from a bad dish.²

The practice of washing hands and feet and honouring food was common even in this period.³ It is also laid down that a person should never revile food served to him.⁴ Generally, people took two principal meals and it was considered improper to take a third meal. It is also laid down that a person should avoid the evening meal if he had satiated himself during the day,⁵ and that a person should take a meal only when he felt hungry.⁶ One should never take too much food nor should he be keen to eat the food of others unless invited to do so with respect.⁷ There is a general rule that a person should divide his stomach into four parts. He should fill half the stomach with solid food, one fourth with liquid food and one fourth part he should leave empty for the movement of wind.⁸

Another important rule laid down by our medical works is that food articles should change according to seasons. For winter flesh of certain animals, intoxicating drinks prepared from molasses, preparations of milk, animal fats and new rice are allow-

¹ Visnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 1-5.

² Visnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 49.

³ Visnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 34-35.

⁴ Visnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 62.

कृतानिन् कार्यो भुज्यते वाग्यतो गुर्वनुज्यता ।

आपोशानक्रियापूर्वं सत्कृत्याप्नमकुत्सवन् ।

Yaj. I. 31.

⁵ Visnu. Dharma. Sutra. LXVIII. 48.

कालेशनतोऽप्तं स्वदते तुष्टिः पुष्टिश्च वर्धते ।

सुखेन जीवते न स्पुः प्रतान्ताजीर्णजागदाः ।

Kasyapa. Khila. V. 11.

⁶ Caraka. Vimana. I. 30.

⁷ परपाकहचिन्स्यादनिन्दाभन्त्रणादृते

वाक्पाणिपादचापलयं वर्जयेच्चातिभोजनम् ।

Yaj. I. 112.

भात्राशीस्यात् । भाहार भात्रा पुनरामिबलपेक्षिणी । यावद्यस्यात्तनमशितमनुपहत्य
प्रकृतिं यथाकालं जरां गच्छेदिति तावदस्य मात्राप्रमाणं वेदितव्यं भवति ।

Caraka. Su. V. 2.

⁸ भागद्वयमिहान्नस्य तृतीयमुदकस्य च । ५३

बायोः संचरणार्थं च चतुर्थमवशोषेत् । ५४

Kasyapa. Khila. V. 53, 54.

ed as these things are considered difficult to digest and could be eaten in winter when the digestive system is good. All easily digestible articles are not recommended. In summer all these articles are prohibited and easily digestible articles, such as groats with sugar and water, flesh of wild beasts, milk, clarified butter, and rice could be used. Only a little quantity of diluted liquor is recommended.¹

The medical works also give a list of those articles which they consider easily digestible and which could be used daily and a list of those which should not be used daily. *Sāttika* rice, *śāli* rice, *mudga*, rock salt, *āmalaka*, barley, rain water, milk, clarified butter, meat of wild animals and honey could be used daily while preparations of rice meal, rice, *prthuka*, seasoned meat, dry vegetables, tubers and stalks of lotus, and meat of diseased animals were to be avoided. Preparations of inspissated milk, flesh of a pig, cow, a buffalo, fish, curds, barley and *māsa* should not be used daily.²

¹ In the winter season :—

तस्मात् यारसमये स्तिरधातुलवणान्वसान्
श्रीदकान्पमांसानन्मेध्यानामुपयोजयेत् । ११
विलेशयानं मांसानि प्रसाहनं भृतानि च ।
भक्षयेन्मदिरो सीधुं मधुं चानुपिकेन्द्रः । १२
गोरसानिक्षुविकृतीवसां तेलं नवौदनम् ।
हेमन्ते न्यस्यतस्तोयमूर्णं चायुन्हीयते । १३
वर्जयेदञ्जपानानि लघूनि वातलानि च ।
प्रवातं प्रमिताहारमुदमन्यं हिमागमे । १७

In the summer season :—

शीतं सशक्तरं मन्थं जाङ्गलान्मूगपक्षिणः ।
घृतं पद्यः सशाल्यन्तं भजन्तीष्मे न सीदति । २५
मद्यमलं न वा पेयमध्यवासुबृद्धकम् ।
लवणाङ्गलं कटूणानि व्यायामं चात्र वर्जयेत् । २६

Caraka. Su. VI.

² यदिकावच्छालिमुदगांश्च सैन्धवामलके यवान्
आतरिक्षे पद्यः सपिञ्जिङ्गलं मधुचाम्पसेत्

Caraka Su. V. 9.

गुह पिण्डमयं तस्मात् तण्डुलान् पृथुकानपि ।
न जातु भुक्तवान् लादेन् माचां खादेव बुभुक्षितः । ६।
बल्लूरं शुक्कशाकानि शालुकानि विसानि च ।
नाम्यसेद् गौरवान्मासं फूर्का नैकोपयोजयेत् । ७।
कूचिकांश्च किलाटांश्च शीकरं गव्यं माहिषे ।
मद्यान्दधि च मायाश्च यवकांश्च न शीलयेत् । ८।

Caraka Su. V. 6-8.

Some other rules are laid down to facilitate digestion. A person should take only that food which suits his temperament. The medical works have, therefore, given a list of food preparations which suit the people of different parts of India.¹ The food taken should be warm, should have some fats, should be nourishing. It should be taken silently, slowly and attentively. The food articles taken should vary, the same dishes should not always be taken.² They have also mentioned preparations which should not be taken together. It is laid down that fish or other meat preparations should not be taken with milk.³ The order of dishes is also mentioned. A person should first take sweet dishes, then acidic, then saltish, then pungent and the rest afterwards. Fruits such as pomegranates should be taken in the beginning, then beverages, then food articles such as boiled rice and confectionery. Lotus stalks, roots and tubers should

पुराणशालयो मूद्यगाशक्षतितिरि लावुकाः।

एवं प्रकार यज्ज्ञान्यत् तद् द्रव्यं लघु संस्कृतम्।

Bhela. p. 4.

तष्टुलान् पृथुकांश्चापि सर्वानि पिष्ठमयास्तिलान्।

न लावेद् भूक्तवान् जन्तुः मात्रां लावेद् बुभुक्षितः।

Bhela. p. 12.

¹ See F. D. A. I. p. 161, f. n. 4 and p. 162, f. n. 1—6.

Caraka. Su. VI. 49. Susruta. Su. 46. 465-467.

² See F. D. A. I. p. 157, f. n. 1.

न चैकं रसं सेवायां प्रसज्जयेत् कदाचन।

शाकावरान्नं भूयिष्ठमस्तं च न समाचरेत्।

Susruta. Su. 46. 491.

³ मत्स्यशिचमिचिमीनाम् कूले चरहि वारिणः।

तं मत्स्यं वर्जयेदेकं कुम्भेनान्यांस्तु भक्षयेत्।

स्वानं वराहूं चैकत्रं पयसा विवर्जयेत्

वन्यमूलफलाहारं तद्विधेन विरुद्ध्यते।

कपोतान् सर्वपै भ्रष्टान् पयसा न तु भक्षयेत्

Bhela. p. 21.

Cf. Caraka. Su. 26. 106-122.

विरुद्धं पयसा मत्स्या यथा वा गुडमूलकम्।

स्वादीणिशनं नाम व्युष्टानीर्णे चतुर्विंशते। ६१।

तथैवात्यशनं ज्ञेयमतिमात्रोपयोगतः।

तस्यामयोत्तमी मूलहेतुं प्रचक्षते। ६२।

Kasyapa. Khila V. 61-62.

never be taken at the end of meals.¹

The food suitable for different stages is mentioned in the Dharma Sāstras as before. A student was not permitted to take only one foodgrain for he might get very fond of it nor was he to take meat, wine, vinegar or leavings of food.² The general rules for the householders were the same as in the previous period but the Jains avoided the use of wine, flesh and honey, green ginger, butter, curds and flowers because they contained many germs.³ An ascetic is permitted eight mouthfuls every day⁴ of such food stuffs as leaves, fruits, flowers, vegetables and boiled barley. He is also advised to fast for one day, two days or three days⁵ and drink water strained in a piece of

¹ पूर्वं मधुरमणीयान् सध्येऽसलवणी रसी । ४६०।
पश्चात्त्वाल रसान् वैद्योभोजनेववचारयेत् ।
आदी फलानि भृङ्गीत दाढिमादीनि वृद्धिमान् । ४६१।
ततः पेयां स्वातो भोज्यान् भक्ष्यांश्चप्राप्ततः परम् ।
वनं पूर्वं समरनीयात् केचिदाहुविपर्ययम् । ४६२।
आदावते च मध्ये च भोजनस्य तु शस्यते ।
निरत्यवं दोष हरं फलेक्षामलकं नृणाम् । ४६३।
मृगालविसु शालूकान्देवा प्रभृतीनि च ।
पूर्वं योज्यानि भिषजा न तु भूषते कवचन । ४६४।

Susruta, Su. 46 460-464.

C.f.

स्तिर्घं च पूर्वं मधुरं च भोज्यं मध्ये द्रवं शीतमयोविचित्रम्
तीक्ष्णोणं रुक्षाणि लघूनि पश्चाद् भोज्यान् पूर्वाख्यतु सात्प्यतश्च

Kasyapa, Bhojana Kalpa, 34.

आदी तु स्तिर्घमधुरं विचित्रं मध्यतस्थथा ।

रुक्षद्रवावसानं च भूजानो नावसीदति ।

Kasyapa, Khila, 5.52-53.

² व्रह्मचर्यं स्थितो नैकमध्यमयादनापदि
व्राह्मणः काममधनीयाच्छ्रुद्धे व्रतमपीडयन् । ३२।
मधुमांसाव्यजनोच्छिष्टं शुक्तस्त्री प्राणिहित्सनम् ।
भास्करालोकनाश्लीलपरिवादांश्च वर्जयेत् । ३३।

Yaj. I. 32-33.

C.f., Visnu, Dh. Su. XXVIII, 9-11, 53.

³ मध्यमांसं मधुत्यां: सहाणुब्रतपञ्चकम्
अष्टी मूलगुणानाहृग्ं हिणां अमणीतमाः । ६६।
त्रसहृति परिहरणार्थं क्षोद्रं पिशितं प्रमादं परित्वये ।
मद्यं च वर्जनीयं जितचरणो शरणमुपवातः । ८४।
अल्पं फलं वहु विधातान् मूलकमाद्राणि शुज्ज्वरेणि ।
नवनीतं निम्बं कुम्भं कैतकमित्येवमवहेयम्

Ratnakaranda Śravakacāra III.

⁴ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCIV, 13.

⁵ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCV, 6-12.

cloth.¹ But, a Jain monk was to practise fasting by degrees. First he was to give up solid food, then milk and whey and in the end even spiced water.²

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. A person should eat facing east or south. He should leave some solid food but eat up all the liquid substances such as curds, honey, clarified butter, milk, groats, meat or sweets. He must not eat in the open, nor with his wife, nor standing, nor in the presence of many hungry spectators. He should not eat in an empty house or in a temple. He should not drink water out of his joined hands.³ The practice of listening to sweet music and interesting stories while taking food, which is in accordance with the modern fashion, is also found in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā.⁴ The practice of chewing betel leaves after meals had, by then, become common.⁵ People generally took some beverage such as

¹ Visnu, Dh. Su. XCVI. 15.

² ग्राहार्द परिहाप्य कमशः स्तिर्णं विवर्धयेत् पानम्
स्तिर्णं च हापयिला स्वरपानं पूरयेत् कमशः । १२७।
स्वरपानं हापनामपिकृत्वा कुलीपवासमपि शक्त्वा ।
पञ्चनमस्तारमनास्तन् त्यजेत् सर्वयनेन । १२८।

Ratnakaranda Śravakacāra VI.

Bardesanes, a Babylonian writer of C. 200 A.D. gives the following account of the lunch of Indian monks :—

'Prayer over, the bell is again rung and the attendants give each monk a bowl of food for two never eat out of the same dish. The bowl contains rice, but if any one wants a variety of food, vegetables and fruits are added.'

³ Visnu, Dh. Su. LXVIII. 40-47, Yaj. I. 138.

⁴ वीणाबेजुस्वनोनिमध्यं शीतं नाट्यविडन्वितम् । ५३।
विचित्राश्च कथा-शृण्वन् भूमत्वा वर्धयते वत्तम् । ५४।

Kāshyapa Khila, V. 55-56.

⁵ जाती-कटुक-पूगानां लवज्ञस्य फलानि च ।
क-झोलकफलं पत्रं ताम्बूलस्य शुभं तथा ।
तथा कर्पूर नियासः सूक्ष्मैलायाः फलानि च ।

Caraka. Su. V. 75-76.

मद्यं पयस्तकमयोदधीनि वेऽशनन्ति वाराहमयापि महस्यान् ।

ताम्बूलं पूगोन्मयिताएव ये स्युः कालोचिता यस्य भवेच्छतृष्णा ।

Kāshyapa. Bhonjana Kalpa. 39.

ताम्बूलपत्रं तीक्ष्णोणं कटुपित्तप्रकोपणम् ।
मुग्धन्धं विशादं तिक्तं स्वयं बातपित्तकफापहम् ।
स्वसनं कटुकं पाके कथायं वह्नि दीपनम् ।
वक्त्रकण्ठमलक्लेददीर्घन्यादि विशीघ्ननम् ।

Susruta. Su. 46. 279-280.

cold or warm water, liquor, a decoction, watery soup, sour gruel or fruit juice. Anyone of these which suited a particular individual and aided his digestive system was used.¹

After drinking a beverage a long walk, a lengthy conversation, singing, sleeping and reading were avoided.² Some people used to smoke a cigar after their meals. The Caraka describes its preparation—a reed was smeared with pastes of sandalwood, nutmeg, cardamom and several other drugs and spices. Then it was dried and the reed removed.³ These practices are not met with in the earlier periods.

धूमेनापोहृय हृचैर्वा कथायकटुतिवक्तव्यः
पूर्णकङ्कोलकर्परूलवज्ज्ञसुमनः फलैः।
फलैः कटु कथायैर्वा मुख वैश्चय कारकैः।
ताम्बूलपत्रसहितैः सुगन्धैर्वा विचक्षणः।

Susruta. Su. 46. 485-486.

Also see Appendix III.

¹ शीतोष्णतोयासवभव्य यूप फलाम्ल धान्याम्ल पद्योरसानाम्।
यस्थानुपानं तु हितं भवेद्वत्सर्वं प्रदेवं लिह मात्रयात्।

Susruta. Su. 46. 420.

These after potions consisted of cool water, warm water, *Āsava*, some intoxicating drinks, soups of cereals, fruit juices, sour gruel, milk, or meat soup. These were taken in accordance with a man's temperament and the food articles he had taken.

² मुक्तदाराजवदासीत यावदक्षवलमोगतः।
ततः पादवातं गत्वा वामपाश्वेन संविशेत्।
शब्दान् रूपान् रसान् गन्धान् स्पर्शांश्चमनसः प्रियान्
भूत्वान् पसेवेत तैनाज्ञं साधु लिष्ठति।

Susruta. 46. 487-488.

शयनं चासनं वाऽपि नोच्छेष्टापि द्रवोत्तरम्।
नाम्यातपी न व्यवनं न यानं नापि वाहनम्।

Susruta. 46. 490.

³ हुरेणुकां प्रियञ्जुच पृथ्वीकां केशरं नखम्।
हीवरं चन्दनं पत्रं त्वगेलोकीरं पद्मकम्।
ध्यामकं मधुकं मांसीं गुग्गुलगुरुशक्करम्।
न्यग्रोष्ठोदुम्बराश्वत्यप्लक्षलोद्भवचशुभाः।
वन्यं सज्जरसं मुस्तं शैलेयं कमलोत्पले।
श्रीवेष्टकं शलकां शुक्रबहूमध्यापिच।
पिष्ट्वा लिघ्नेच्छरेपीकां तां वर्ति यवसन्निभाम्।
अञ्जुलं समिता कुर्यादिष्टाञ्जुलं सर्वाभिष्यक्
शुक्कां निरभीं तां वर्ति धूमनेत्रापितं नरः।
स्नेहाम्बतामन्ति संजुट्टा पिवेत प्रायोगिकीं सुखाम्।

Caraka. Su. V. 18-23.

Please also see Appendix IV and F. D. A. I. p. 197, f. n. 1, 3.

Taboos against the use of meat of unclean animals or un-sanctified meat, onions, mushrooms, garlic, *sigru*, red exudation of trees, and other plants and vegetable growing on unclean ground are met with in the Dharmasāstras of this period as in those of the earlier period.¹ In a Śrāddha even preparations of *Rājāmāṣa*, *Masūra*, stale food and factitious salt were not to be served. Viṣṇu also prohibits the use of pepper, the onions called *mukundaka*, *Bhūṣyra* (a pot herb), *sigru*, mustard seeds, *Nirgundi*, the fruit or leaves of *Sāl* tree, *suvarcalā*, *kūṣmāṇḍa*, the bottle gourd, the egg plant, *pālakya*, *upodaki*, *Tandulīyaka*, safflower, *pindaluka* and the milk of buffaloes.² But the medical works prescribe the use of the flesh of all animals and vegetables including garlic when they regard it as useful for a patient. The Kāśyapa Saṁhitā has a separate section which deals with various uses of garlic and its juice is considered as effective as nectar itself.³ The use of some fragrant substances such as cloves, camphor, *kakkola*, *jātipbala*, with betel leaves is prescribed to do away with its foul smell.⁴

¹ पलाष्ठं चिद् वराहं च छत्राकं ग्रामकुम्भकुटम्।
लशूनं गृजन्तं चैव जग्नवा चान्नार्थण चरेत्।
भृष्टयः पञ्चनस्तः सेधानोधा कच्छप शलकाः।
शाश्वत्तच मत्स्येष्वपि हि सिंहतुष्णकरोहिताः।
तथा पाठीन राजीव सशलकाश्च द्विजातिभिः।
अतः शृणुष्व भास्तस्य विष्व भक्षणवर्जिते।

.....
वसेत्स नरके धोरे दिनानि पशुरोमभिः।
समितानि दुराचारो यो हन्तपविधिना पशून्।

Yaj. I. 176-180.

देवतार्थं हृष्वः लिङ्गू लोहितान् ग्रस्तनांस्तथा।
अनुपाकृतमांसानि विह्जानि फवकानि च।

Yaj. I. 171.

² Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 17-18.
राजमाष्मसूरपर्युपितकृतस्तपणानि च।

Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 18.

³ अमृतोद्भूतममृतं लशूनानां रसायनम्।
दन्तमांसनक्षत्रमधुकेशवर्णवयोर्बलम्।
न जातु ऋषयते जातं नरां लशूनसादिनाम्।
न पतीन्ति स्तनाः स्त्रीणो नित्यं लशूनसेवनात्।
न रूपं ऋषयते चासां न प्रजा न वलायुष्यो
सीभार्यं वर्षते चासां दृढं भवति योवनम्।

Kasyapa. Lasunakalpa. 18-20.

⁴ ततः कलायचूर्णेन हस्तमूष्णीदकेन च।
प्रक्षालय मुखं भोजीव गृहं प्रावरणोऽनिमान्।
दान्तबूलपत्रं सस्वाकं? सजाती कटुकाफलम्।
खवङ्गूष्णकर्पूरकक्षोलकफलान्वितम्।

Kasyapa Laśunakalpa. 52-53.

Feasts were given, as before, at the time of a Srāddha or other sacrifices. In a Srāddha the Brāhmaṇas were invited on the previous day.¹ The practice of offering meat preparations is considered better than milk preparations or vegetarian dishes, at a Srāddha.² Unhusked or well husked boiled rice, rice cooked with sesamum, preparation of meat and fish, intoxicating drinks, radish, cakes, rice with curds, milk rice, rice mixed with treacle and modakas were served at the time of worship of the god Vināyaka.³

We can also have some idea of the food habits of the people in various parts of India. People in the north-west liked such substances as butter milk, vinegar, curds, whey, treacle, grapes, groats, juice of pomegranates, rock salt, tender leaves of *Bhūstrna*, the juice of *Trivrt*, *Vāsaka*, *Kāravṛnta*, *Kuṭbera* and *Mātulinga* (*citrus medica*). Other food articles used by them were groats mixed with ginger, clarified butter, *Sādavas*, *rāga*, soups, and beverages including intoxicating drinks.⁴ Bhela says that

¹ निमन्त्रयेत् पूर्वेण्युक्तिष्युणानात्मवान् शुचिः।

तैश्चापि संयते रसवं मनो वाक् काम कर्मभिः।

Yaj. I. 225-226.

² हविष्याभेन वैभासं पायसेन तु वत्सरम्
मात्स्वद् हारिण कौरब्ध शाकुनच्छाग पार्वतः।
ऐण दीरव वाराह शावैमासैर्यथा क्रमम्।
मास वृद्ध्याऽनितृप्यन्ति दत्तैरिह पितामहाः।
खज्जामिषं महाशालं मधुमन्त्रश्चेव च।
लोहामिषं कालशाकं मांसं वार्षीणस्य च। २५६
यदाति गयास्थश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते।

Yaj. I. 257-260.

Visnu. Dh. Su. LXXX.

The Visnu. Dh. Sa. provides that vessels in which the food is served in a Srāddha should be metallic, preferably made of silver.

Visnu. Dh. Sa. LXXIX. 14-15.

³ कृताङ्कतांस्तद्गुलांश्च पललौदनमेव च।
मत्स्यान् पलवांस्तथैवामान् मांस मेतावदेव तु।
पुष्टं चित्रंसुगत्थं च सुरां च विविधामपि।
मूलकं पूरिकापूर्णांस्तथैवोष्ठेरकं खजम्।
दध्यन्नपायसं चेव गुडमिषं समोदकम्।

Yaj. I. 286-288.

तिस पिष्टमिष्टओदनः पललौदनः। भूष्टालौपिकाः पूरिकाः। लुद्रापूपास्तुष्टेरकाः।

Aparikā, on Yaj. I. 286-288.

⁴ तत्र शुक्तं दधि मस्तुर्गुडं च द्राक्षामुख्याः सुकृताः सवत्वश्च।

शीतं हितं दादिम वारि चार्य स्थासैन्धवं भूस्तृणपलवाश्च।

they were specially fond of meat preparations and liquors.¹ The residents of *Vāhlika* country generally used spiced warm food, liquid meat preparation² and beverages such as sour gruel and wines, while those of Kāmbhoja were fond of preparations of *masūra*, barley, wheat, sesamum and *uddāla* variety of rice.³ The people of the Sindhu country were fond of milk.⁴ The people of the east liked fish, *Sāli* rice, oils, and pungent spices.⁵ The people in the south were fond of tasty sweets, oils, preparations of foodgrains such as *kañgu*, *āḍbaka*, barley, gram and pea, and roots, tubers and some beverages.⁶ These people liked fish from the river and the sea.⁷ Sour rice gruel is recommended for sea faring men.⁸

तानि त्रिवृद् वासक कारवन्ताद् रसः कुठेरादि समातुलिङ्गात् ।

स्यादार्देकः सकतवद्वचं सौपर्वेरिठ्ठं लघवः वाङ्वाशव् ।

भक्षयादेव मस्यालघवः सूपक्वा: सूरारागाः पानकं भवयोगाः ।

अतीयुग्माच्युक्तिमवेक्षकुर्यात् सात्म्यादवक्षारिमथेविधिः ।

Kasyapa, Bhojana Kalpa. 46-4.

¹ प्रतीच्या: मांसकामा: सुराकामा:

Bhela. p. 22.

² वाह्लिका तीक्ष्णोष्णानि अज्ञानि, अभिष्वन्दीनि मांसानि, पानकान्धीदकानि च ।

Bhela. p. 22.

³ वाह्लिका=Bactria

³ काम्भोजा: भसूर्यवगोधूभातिलकोहालसेविनः ।

Bhela. p. 22.

Kāmbhoja=region to the east of Kafiristan.

⁴ Caraka. Cikitsa. 30, 317.

⁵ काशीण्युज्ज्वलकवज्ज्वलाचान् ससागरानूपकः कौसलेयान् ।

पूर्वं समुद्रं च समाश्रिताये किरातदेश्यानपितूर्वं शालान् ।

शाकैः समत्स्यामिष शालि तैले द्रव्यैश्च तीक्ष्णे समुपकमेत ।

Pundras—Between Monghyr and Vaṅga.

Kasyapa, Bhojanakalpa. 49-50

C.f. Caraka. Cikitsa 30, 317.

प्राच्या: मत्स्यान्न भोजिनो नित्यम् ।

Bhela. p. 22.

⁶ कलिङ्गकान् पट्टनवासिनश्च सदक्षिणान् वापि च नार्मदेयान् ।

उच्चावचद्वयगुणाश्रिताभिः पेयाभिरेतान् समुपकेमत ।

तैसानि कञ्जवाढकी यावकाश्च मलानि कन्दाश्चणवाः कलायाः ।

एतानि सात्म्यानि भवन्ति तेषां पैयास्तथोष्णाः परिसिद्धिकाश्च ।

Kasyapa, Bhojanakalpa 51-52.

Pattanavasina—Inhabitants of Mastūlipattana and Viśākhāpattana.

Nārmadeya—People of Narmadā valley.

⁷ नदीतोयगतान् मत्स्यान् भवन्ति समुद्रजान् ।

Bhela. p. 22.

⁸ समुद्रमाश्रितानाऽन्व जनानां सात्म्यमुच्यते ।

Susruta. Su. 45 216.

It appears that the rich always used meat preparations and intoxicating drinks as they are invariably prescribed with vegetarian dishes in the medical works for patients.¹ The Jains were so particular about Abhimsā that they even avoided all uncooked roots, fruits, leaves, branches, tubers, flowers and seeds in which there was the least possibility of the existence of any living being. For the same reason they did not take their meals at night.²

To conclude, we may say that during this period the food habits of Indians were considerably changed as a result of the influx of foreign elements in society. The authors of medical works made a scientific study of all the food articles then available. So many varieties of rice, fruits and vegetables are not mentioned in any earlier work. Suitable diet for different seasons and people residing in different parts of the country was prescribed. Many new preparations of rice and wheat flour came into use. Tasty soups were prepared not only with pulses but also with fruits and vegetables which were available in abundance. Rules about purity of food appear to have been tightened by the authors of the Smṛtis, but people in the north-western region probably attached little importance to them. They had no objection to taking tabooed articles such as onions and garlic, meat preparations and intoxicating drinks of all kinds were very popular with them. Some new practices such as listening to sweet music at the time of meals are met with in the higher stratum of society and betel chewing seems to have become a common practice throughout the country.

¹ कुवकुटाश्चमयूराश्च तित्तिरिकोञ्चवर्तकाः ।
शालयो मदिरा सपि वातगुल्मभिषग् जितम् ।
हितमुण्ठं द्रवं स्त्रियं भोजनं वातगुल्मनाम् ।
समष्टवासर्णीपानं पत्रं वाष्पान्यकेऽजलम् ।

Caraka. Cikitsa. V.

² मूलफलशाकशाखाकरीरकलप्रसूनबीजानि ।
नामानि योत्ति सोऽयं रचित विरतो दया मूर्तिः ।
अथं पानं खाद्यं लेहूँ नाशनाति यो विभावयर्थम् ।
स च रात्रिभूक्ति विरतः सत्त्वेष्वनुकृम्यमानमनाः ।

Ratnakaranda Śravakacāra VII. 141-42.

CHAPTER VI
FOOD AND DRINKS

(C. 300 A.D. To C. 750 A.D.)

The period C. 300 A.D. to C. 750 A.D. was an era of great prosperity in India. The earliest source of information is the *Aṅgavijjā* which gives a long list of vegetarian preparations in the beginning of the Gupta period. Some information about the food habits of the people can be gleaned from the works of Kālidāsa, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*. But the first connected account that we have of food during the period comes from Chinese travellers Fahien, Yuan Chwang and Itsing. The medical works of this period the *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*, the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* and the Bower MSS. repeat a good many details given in the medical works of the earlier period but provide some additional information. The *Purāṇas* and the *Smṛtis* also throw some light on the feasts and rules of diet and etiquette during this period.

Food has generally been classified into the four traditional categories¹ but the Chinese travellers divide it into five solid foods, roots, stalks, leaves, flowers and fruits, and five soft foods, boiled rice, *Kulmīḍa*, groats, meat and cakes.² A number of varieties of rice are mentioned³ but the *Kalama* variety of *Sāli*

¹ *Aṅgavijjā*, p. 178, *Vayu*, 74.31.

² *Itsing*, p. 43.

C.f. अथ तस्मिन्देव दिवसे द्वितीयेऽर्थं भागे विविधस्य खादनीयं भोजनीयस्य वर्णं प्रवर्णति। इदमेवं रूपं भोजनम् ओदनसकतवः कुलमाप मत्स्य मांसम्, इदमेवं रूपं खादनीयम् स्वन्ध खादनीयम्, पत्र खादनीयम्, पुष्प खादनीयम्, फलखादनीयम्, तिल खादनीयम्, खण्डशक्करा गुड खादनीयम्, चिष्ट खादनीयम्।

Div. 297, 10-14.

³ The *Aṣṭ. Sam.* VII, 3-12 mentions the following varieties of *Sāli* rice :

Raktaśāli, mahāśāli, kalama, tūrṇaka, śākunāhṛta, sārāmukha, dirghaśūka, rodhraśūka, sugandhaka, puṇḍra, puṇḍarīka, pramoda, gauṣa, sātiवा, kāficana, mahaśūka, dūṣaka, kusumāñḍaka, lāthgala, lohavīla, kardama, śītabhīruka patanga and tapaniya.

Other varieties of rice described are :

Śaṣṭika, mahāvīhi, krṣṇavīhi, jātumukha, kukkuṭañḍaka, lāvaka, pārīvataka, sūkara, varaka, uddālaka, ujjivala, cīna, śīrada, dardura, gandhana, kuruvīnda, yavaka, hāyana, pāthsu, vāpya and naiṣadhiaka.

rice, which was grown in Bengal and was transplanted to attain full growth, was largely used.¹ *Sāstika* rice was considered very nourishing,² and *Mahavrihi* variety, which was mostly grown in Magadha was offered to religious persons of distinction and to kings.³ The medical works regard the red variety of *Sāli* rice to be the best.⁴ Rice was taken with curds, milk, clarified butter, molasses or pulses such as *mudga*, *māṣa* and *Kulattha*.⁵ Milk rice was popular but some Brāhmaṇas like the *Vidūṣaka* in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* were fond of rice with curds.⁶ Besides the old preparations

पातयः कलमाचार्षच यज्ञिकाचार्षच पूर्वस्थमी।

Amar. II. 9.24.

C.f. Angv. p. 164, Ast. Hrd. VI.

¹ वज्रानुखाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्धतान्।

निचलान् जयस्तम्भान् गज्जास्त्रोत्तरेषुः।

आपदपथप्रणाताः कलमा इव ते रघुम्।

फलैः संबर्ध्यामासुरुत्खातप्रतिरोपिताः।

Raghu. IV. 36-37.

C.F. Karpūramāñjari I. 19, Kirata, IV Mrch. IV. p. 232.

² माधसुपसहितेन सर्पिणा यज्ञिकौदलमदिति ये नराः।

धीरम्प्यनुपिबन्ति तामु ते शर्वरीपु मदनेन शेरते।

Bṛhat. 76.8.

यज्ञिको ग्रीहिणु श्रेष्ठो गीरहकासितगीरतः।

Ast. Sam. VII. 10.

गुडीदनं पायसं च हविष्यं धीर यज्ञिकम्

दध्योदनं हृविष्वूर्णं भासं चित्रान्नमेव च।

Yaj. I. 303-304.

From Śabarī's commentary on Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsā* Sūtra. I. 3.1 it appears that parched *sāstika* rice was eaten with milk and parched *sāli* rice was eaten with milk. Rice cooked with *mudga* pulse is also recommended.

³ Beal Si-yu-ki. II. 82.

⁴ शूकजेषु वरस्तत्र रक्तस्तृष्णाप्रिदोपहा।

महोस्तस्यान् कलमस्तं चाप्यनु ततः परे।

Ast. Sam. VII. 7.

⁵ पायसो परमण्णति दधिलादो विलेपिको

दधिकूर दुदकूर घटसासवकूरको। १३६।

गुलकूरको चिदा बूया अधंवा पत्तकूरको।

कुलथकूरको वर्ति मुगमासोदणोत्तिवा। १३७।

अतिकूर तेलकूरोत्ति भूतकूरोत्तिवावदे।

जरस धणस्त जो मिस्ता तम्भामो कूर एवसो। १३८।

Angv. p. 64.

सदृष्टा कलमोदनेन प्रलोभिता न भक्षयन्ति वायसा वैल सुधारस्त्य सवर्णतया।

Mrch. Act IV, p. 181. Calcutta 1938

C.f. Ragh. IX. 42, IV. 37, Kumar. V. 47. Matsya. 268. 6-30.

⁶ दधिभक्त पूरितोदरो प्राह्ण इव।

Mrch. IV, p. 241.

of rice a new one was *utkārikā*. A variety of this cake prepared with rice flour and milk and clarified butter of a goat with some medicines was considered aphrodisiac.¹ Itsing prescribes boiled rice and well boiled lentil water for a convelescent person.² Rice was the staple food of the people in the south.³ The foresters used some inferior varieties of rice such as *kaṇgu*, *nīvāra*, *kodrava* and *śyāmāka*.⁴ People also seem to be fond of eating sweet parched rice.⁵

Two varieties of barley, one superior and the other inferior⁶ and two those of wheat called *Nandimukhi* and *Madhūlikā* were used. Itsing noted that wheat was abundant in the western

¹ *Saṅkulī*—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

Prthuka—Vayu. 80.47, Āmar. II. 9.47.

Kṛṣṇa—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

तिलाशवगन्धा कपिकच्छ मूलैविदारिकापिण्डिकपिष्ठ योगः।

आजेन पिष्ठं पयसा घृतेन पवरं भवेच्छष्टुलिकातिवृद्ध्या।

Brihat. Sam. 76.9.

C.f. Div. 500.23.

Cooked rice from which water was not strained was called *Caru* (*Śabarā* on Jaim. X. 1.42).

² Itsing. p. 155.

³ A history of South India p. 191, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri.

⁴ नीवारीवनमण्डमूष्ममधुरं सत्त्वः प्रसूताः प्रिया।

Uttaracarita. IV.1.

प्रियज्ञवः कोद्रवाश्व निधावाश्चाति शोभनाः।

Mārkandeya. Pu. 29.10.

सुपापञ्चवा कोद्रवा जत्त साली कहं सो पावए तत्त्व माली।

सिरीखण्ड कप्पूर एकाइ दिन्ना मुहासिद्धि पोफका जेणदिन्ना।

Bhavi. 20.3.

कज्जु कोद्रव नीवार श्यामकादिं हिर्म लघु।

तृणधान्यं पवनकूलेखनं कफिपित्तहृत्।

Ast. Hr. VI. 11-12.

The following inferior grains are mentioned in Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

¹⁴⁻¹⁶:

Kaṇgu, kodrava, jūrpāhvā, garmūti, cūrpapādikā, śyāmāka, toyāśyāmāka, śibira, śiśira, dārunīvāra, barukūbaraka, utkāta, madhūlikā, śāntanu, sandī, venuparṇi, praśāntikā, gavedhukā, andalauhitya, todaparṇi and mukundaka.

⁵ लाजान् भव्युतान् दथात् सक्तून् शर्करयासह।

Kurma. XX.

C.f. Matsya. 268. 6-30.

लाजान् विवेण संयोज्य भव्युतेति विलोभिता।

देवीतु काशीराजेन्द्रनिजधान् रहोगतम्।

Kamandaka. VII. 52.

⁶ *Anuyava* (inferior variety of barley) Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 19.

Venayava (Bamboo seeds) were also used as an article of food. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 21.

parts of India,¹ but it is still mentioned among the inferior cereals by the authors of the medical works.² All the old preparations of barley and wheat were in use but *yavāgū* seems to be very popular.³ Some new preparations such as *vitānaka*, *polikā*, *istakā*, and *locikā* are mentioned.⁴ As before groats were taken

¹ *Nandimukhi* (thin and long variety of wheat)—Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 22. *Madbhikā* variety of wheat was considered more wholesome. Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 14-16, Itsing. p. 45.

But the *Vayu Purana* (Ch. VIII. 153-54) mentions rice, barley, *māja*, wheat, *apu*, *sesamum*, *Priyaṅgu*, and *Kulattha* among the cultivated grains and *Syāmāka*, *nīvāra*, *jartila*, *gavēbuka*, *karnornda*, *vṛṣṇyava* and *markitaka* among the uncultivated grains. *Udāra*, *koradūsa*, *cīnaka*, *mudga*, *masūra*, *nīspāva*, *ḍubaki*, *gram* and *sarpa* were not regarded as sacred grains.

C.f.

त्रीहृष्टवच यवाशैव गोधूमा अणवस्तिला:।
प्रियज्ञवोत्पुदाराश्च कोरदूषाः सचीनकाः ।२१।
माषा मुदगा भासुराश्च निष्पावाः सकुलत्यकाः ।
आदक्षयश्चकाश्चैव शण संपतदशाः ।२२।
इत्येता ओषधीनां तु ग्राम्याणां जातवो मुने ।
ओषध्योऽवज्ञियाश्चैव ग्राम्यारण्याचर्तुदश ।२३।
त्रीहृष्टः सयवा माषा गोधूमा अणवस्तिला:।
प्रियज्ञु सप्तमाद्येता अष्टमास्तु कुलत्यकाः ।२४।
दधामाकास्त्वथ नीवाराज्ञर्तिला: सगवेधुकाः ।
तथा वेनु यदा: प्रोक्तास्तद्दन् मर्कटका मुने ।२५।
ग्राम्यारण्यास्मृताद्येता ओषध्यश्चर्तुदश ।

Visnu. Pu. I. 6, 21-26.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 170 f. n. 4.

³ The Angv. (p. 181) mentions *yavāgū* mixed with clarified butter, oil or vinegar.

C.f. अच्छ रसक यूपमस्त यवागू भ्रष्टमांसोपदंशानि पानकानि चूतफलानि शुक्र-मांस मातुलज्जचक्रकाणिसशक्तरणि च यथादेशसात्म्यं च चपकहस्तः पायवेद्।
Kāma. 174. 15-17.

Dhānāb—*Kurma. II. 17, Amara. II. 9.47.*

Sakti—The groats of jujube were also used. *Ast. Sam. VII.*

Karambha—*Amara. II. 9.49, Vayu. 80.47.*

Saṅkhyā—*Kurma. II. 17.*

Apūrpa—*Kurma. II. 17, Amat. II. 9.47.*

For other preparations of wheat see F.D.A.I. p. 179.

⁴ *Vitānaka*—*Matsya. 268. 6-30.*

Polikā—*Ibid.*

Purikā—*Ibid.*

Iftakā—*Vayu. 80.47.*

भक्ष्यान्वक्ष्ये करम्भञ्च इष्टका घृतपूरका।

कृशरं मधु सर्पिश्च पदः पायसमेव च।

Vayu. 80.47.

Locikā—a kind of delicious sweet preparation.

Spastika—*Ast. Sam. Su. VIII. 94.* See F.D.A.I. p. 137, f. n. 3.

in the liquid form as also when they were prepared in a thick consistency.¹ People often took groats with them when proceeding on a journey.² *Jārnābha* (*Holcus Sorghum*) is also mentioned among the inferior foodgrains of this period.³ The use of pulses with clarified butter is recommended.⁴ Of all the pulses, *mudga*, especially the green variety, was considered the best.⁵ Daily use of *māṣa* is not considered good on medical grounds as it is difficult to digest.⁶ *Kulattha* was widely used.⁷ Gram was also used for horses.⁸ The use of *Rājāmāṣa*, *masūra*, *nispāva* and gram is interdicted in a Srāddha by the authors of the Purāṇas.⁹ *Mudga* was also used in preparing a stuffing (*vesavāra*) called *Pūrana*.¹⁰

¹ निचयात्कठिना गुर्वी प्रोक्ता पिण्डि मृदुर्लघुः।

सकूनां द्रवता योगाल्लभीयस्यवलेहिका।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 61.

² Harśacarita, p. 217.

³ See F.D.A.I. p. 170. f. n. 4. It is called *jāmanḍīla* in Tiloya paṇḍati.

See History of Jondhāla' by Dr. P.K. Gode in B.C. Law Commemoration Volume I. p. 145-158.

⁴ मधुराः शीतला गुर्वी बलच्छयो रक्षणात्मकाः।

स्नेहाद्या वलिभिर्भौज्या विविधादिभ्वजातयः।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 33-34.

⁵ सूर्यानामृतमा मुदगा लघीयांसोऽल्प मास्ताः।

हरितास्तेष्वपिवरा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 26.

⁶ माषनिष्याव शालूक विस पिष्ट विरुद्धकम्।

शूक्कशाकानि यवकान् फाणितं च न शीलयेत्।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 41.

⁷ कुलत्यतिल भाषाम्ल घृतं तैलामिकोदनः।

वर्त्तितित्र दक्षाणां रसैः सब्योषवदादिभैः।

सहिंगुविडमृडीकामातुलुङ्गरखार्दकैः।

कुलत्यदाडिमाजाजी शूक्कमूलक संयुतैः।

यवं गोधूमं शाल्यम् स्तिर्घमृणं च भोजयेत्।

Bower. MSS. 2,14.

⁸ Amarasimha calls gram—the food of the horses (*harimantaka*, II. 9-11). Rice cooked with gram is mentioned—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

⁹ देव्याणि संप्रवश्याणि आदे वज्याणि यानि तु।

मसूरशणनिष्याव राजमाषकुसुम्भकाः।

कोट्रवोदारच्छकाः कपित्या मधुकालसीः।

Matsya. 15.36-38.

C.F. Märkandeya. Pu. 29.11.

¹⁰ वेसवारो गुरुः स्तिरघो वलोपचयवर्धनः।

मुदगादिजास्तुगुरुवो यवाद्रव्यं गुणानुगा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Pulses were used in saline preparations such as *yūṣas*, *māṇḍa* and *parpāṭas*.¹ Sprouted food grains were also used in food preparations.²

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk continued to be the favourite beverage in India.³ Even in the South the Brāhmaṇas used to domesticate milk yielding cows.⁴ Milk is recommended as a suitable diet for the convalescent, the old, children and ascetics.⁵ Both Yuan Chwang and Itsing noted that milk and its products were available everywhere.⁶ Milk of cows was considered the best.⁷ Other animals, whose milk was used, were buffaloes, goats, elephants, sheep, mares, camels and women.⁸ Overboiled milk was considered difficult to digest while fresh milk, which was still warm, was considered as wholesome as nectar itself.⁹ Milk rice continued

¹ *Yūṣa* (soup of pulses)—Kāma Sūtra. 174. 15-17, Bharata. III. 36-39, Angv. p. 179, Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Māṇḍa—juice of cereals was considered a light food.

नीवारोदैनमण्डमुण्ड भधुरं सच्चः प्रसूताप्रिया।

Uttaracarita. IV. 1.

C.f. Amara. II. 9.49.

Parpāṭa—Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

² Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

³ Beal Si-yu-ki p. 88, Angv. p. 181, Raghu. II. 63, Kurma. 22, Vayu. 78.17, Visnu. III. 16.11.

⁴ A History of South India, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, p. 190.

⁵ व्याघ्रीष्वधात्वमाव्यस्त्रीलङ्घनातपकर्मभिः।

दीर्घे वृद्धे च बाले च पयः पव्यं यथा मृतम्।

Ast. Hrd. VIII. 50.

C.f. Vāyu. 16.13.

⁶ Beal Vol. I, p. 88, Watters Vol. I. p. 178. Itsing. p. 44.

⁷ गव्यं स्नेहोत्तमं क्षीरं गव्याच्च एयसः पयः।

यचोत्तरं स्नेहहीनमौरञ्ज्ञागमाहिषम्।

Khāraṇāda.

प्रायः पयोऽपि गव्यं तु जीवनीयं रसायनम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 54.

⁸ गव्यं माहिषमाजं च कारमं स्वैरणमाविकम्।

ऐभवेक्षकं चेति क्षीरमष्टविषंस्मृतम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 52-53.

C.f. Vayu. 78.17.

⁹ भवेद्गरीयोतिशृतं शारोऽणममृतोपमम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 62.

C.f. Ast. Hrd. Su. V. 29.

to be popular¹ and beatings were avoided as before.² Curds were taken pure, with rice, with groats and with treacle.³ Curds when mixed with water in the ratio of 3 : 1 were called *Takra*, when they were mixed in equal quantities the mixture was called *Udasvit* and curds churned without water were called *Mathita*.⁴ *Sikharīṇī* continued to be popular as before.⁵ A mixture of warm milk and curds, cream of curds and butter milk were also used.⁶

Fresh butter, butter prepared from the previous day's milk and clarified butter were widely used.⁷ Yuan Chwang states that milk and butter formed important food articles of the students at the University of Nālandā.⁸ Some people were excessively fond of butter. Urvaśi is said to have lived on butter alone.⁹

¹ Amar. II. 7.24.

² Ast. Sam. Su. VI, Amar. II. 9.54.

³ *Dadbi* (curds)—Angv. p. 181, Kurma. 22, Matsya. 217, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Dadbisaktu (curds with groats)—Angv. 220.

Dadbyodana (rice mixed with curds)—Mrch. VII.

Gugadadbi (curds with treacle)—Angv. p. 220.

⁴ *Takra*—Matsya. 217, Vayu. 16.13, Amar. II. 9.53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Udasvit—Amar. II. 9.53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Mathita—Amar. II. 9.53.

Trapsyam—Angv. p. 220, Amar. II. 9.51.

⁵ *Rasālī*—Angv. p. 220, Amar. II. 9.44, Vikramorvaśiya. p. 72 (III. 86).

⁶ तत्पेपयसि दध्यानयति सा वैश्वदेवी आमिका वाजिम्यो वाजिनम्।

Sabara on II. 2.23.

आमिका साशृंहोणे या क्षीरे स्पादिष्योगतः।

Amar. II. 7.23.

Dadbitara (cream of curds)

दधिकार परिलुभ्यायाः मार्जीरिकायाः।

March. Act I. p. 47 Calcutta, 1938.

Daddbata (butter milk)—Amar. II. 9. 53.

⁷ *Nasanīta* (fresh butter) Malavikgnimitra. p. 57, Angv. p. 182, Amar. II. 9.51, Matsya 217, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

Haiyamgavīna (Butter of yesterday's milk)—Raghu. I. 4.3, Amar. II. 9.51.

Gṛpta—Angv. p. 182, Kurma. 22, Amar. II. 9. 51, Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁸ Beal. Si-yu-ki. Vol. I. p. 88.

⁹ घृतमात्रं तथाहारः।

Vayu. 91.11.

Clarified butter was considered a germicide¹ and a mixture of clarified butter and curds was also used as food.² Besides the milk products mentioned in the earlier period Vāgbhata I mentions *Kṣirāśaka*, *Dadbikūrcikā* and *Takrapindaka*.³

MEAT DIET

Side by side with vegetarian diet meat diet was also in vogue. A slaughter house and a butcher boy are mentioned.⁴ A piece of meat being roasted on charcoal seems to be a common sight.⁵ At irregular hours a meal consisting of meat roasted on spits seems to be common among the Kṣatriyas.⁶ Meat and fish formed part of the daily diet of the royal families.⁷ Flesh of various animals was served to Brāhmaṇas at Śrāddhas.⁸ The

¹ अश्वादिजानां सत्त्वानां रसजानां च सर्वेषाः
फल पुष्पोदगतानां च चूतप्राशो विशेषनम्।

Matsya. 227.39.

² पृष्ठदात्यं सदध्यात्ये।

Amara. Vaisya.

Originally ‘*prāgaddājya*’ denoted a mixture of curds and minute globules of butter. See Ch. II. p. 14, f. n. 5.

³ The solid part of curds when water has oozed out was called *Takrapindaka*—Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 78-79, Ast. Hrd. Su. V.

Kṣirāśaka—Ibid.

Dadbikūrcikā—Ibid.

⁴ भवनापि सूनोपरि चरविहङ्गम इव आमिथलौलपो।

Malavika. II. p. 36.

अयमपरः हतपशुदरपेशि धावति रूपिदारकः।

Mrch. IV. p. 237.

⁵ अच्छारराशिपतितमिव मांसलच्छम्।

Mrch. p. 98.

⁶ अनियतवेलं शूल्यमांसं भूयिष्ठमाहारोभुज्यते।

Sakuntala. II.

⁷ मासेन तिक्तामलेन भक्तं शाकेन सूपेन समस्त्यकेन।

भूक्तं मधात्मनोग्नेहे शालिकूरेण गुडीदतेन।

Mrch. X. 29, p. 545.

अच्छरसकं यूथमूलयवान् भ्रष्टमांसोपदंशानि पानकानि चूतकलानि शुक्रमांसं पावयेत्।

Kamasutra. 174.15-17.

क्षीरशाल्यमभुक्त्यात् क्षीरग्ना जांगलानां रसवां हृदैयूर्धैः।

Bower MSS. I. 24.

क्रीडत्कृष्णशारच्छागणावक्ष्रकटितपशुबन्धप्रबलवानि।

Hatsa. p. 45.

महानसोपकरणवाहिनिश्च बद्धवराहवार्धीणसैलंबमानहरिणचटुकचटकगृट जटिलं
शिशुशक्षाकापत्रवेत्राप्रसंग्राहिभिः।

Harsa. VII. 211.

⁸ Vayu. 82, Matsya. 16, 17.29-36, Kurma. 20.

Kūrma Purāṇa goes to the extent of saying that one who does not take flesh in a Śraddha is born again and again as an animal.¹ Brhaspati lays down that only those women whose husbands are away should refrain from meat diet. It expressly permits meat eating in the case of sick persons.² In South India also meat dishes were popular in royal courts.³

Flesh of five toed animals, fish with scales, deer, peacocks, partridges, *kapitījala*, *vārdbrīṇasa*, *dvipi*, fish called *rājive*, *simhantūḍa*, *pāṭhīna* and *robita*, goats, hares, gazelle and birds was eaten.⁴ People generally avoided the meat of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, lions, monkeys, frogs, bears and apes. Those who ate the flesh of prohibited animals were looked down upon in society.⁵ In the middle country (*Madhyadesa*) the peafowl was considered a delicacy,⁶ and artisans were beef eaters.⁷

Some uncivilized people relished meat diet. It is said that the strong smell of flesh made the people residing in the Vindhya region joyous.⁸ A Sabara youngman presented a partridge to Harṣa probably because they prized its flesh very much as an article of food.⁹

¹ योनावनाति द्विजो भासम् नियुक्तः पितृकर्मणि ।
सप्रेत्य पशुतां याति संभवानेकविश्वातिम् ।

Kurma. 22.

² Brhaspatismrti. 25. 13. p. 194.

³ Porunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.

⁴ भक्ष्याः पञ्चनक्षा नित्यं मनुराह प्रजापतिः ।
मत्यान् सचाल्कान् भूञ्जीयान्यासं रीतमेव च ।
निवेद्येवताभ्यस्तु ब्राह्मणेभ्यस्तु नान्यथा ।
मधूरनितिरञ्जनैव कपिञ्जलकमेव च ।
वाप्रीणसन्दीपिनञ्जनैव भक्षयानाह प्रजापतिः ।
राजीवान् सिंहतुष्ठानैव तथा पाठीनरोहिणी ।

Kurma. 22.

⁵ Beal Si-yu-ki. p. 89.

⁶ See Buddhaghosa's Sāratthappakāśāni, his commentary on Sarhyutta Nikāya.

⁷ मध्यदेशे कर्मकराः शिल्पिनश्च गवाशिनः । १२८।
मत्यादाश्च नराः पूर्वे व्यभिचाररताः स्त्रियः ।
उत्तरे मद्यपा नाराः स्पृश्या नृणां रजस्वलाः । १२९।

Brhaspati. Sm. I. 128-29.

⁸ उम्हाल कुसूल मुहुच्चरन्त रथ कर्षसमेवगच्छाइ ।
आसार जडे दिवहेणदन्ति कुटुम्बि गेहाइ ।

Gaudavaho. 377.

⁹ Harsacarita, p. 232.

Meat cooked with rice, meat soup prepared with ghee or oil and some spices, meat roasted on spits or charcoal, seasoned meat, were all used.¹ Boneless meat ground after boiling and mixed with spices was used as a stuffing.² A soup prepared with some meat and spices such as dry ginger was called *Dakalāvapika*.³ An acidic gruel cooked with meat and an extract of meat were also used as food articles.⁴

But there seems to have been a good deal of feeling among some sections of society against the slaughter of animals. Fahien states that killing of animals was unknown throughout Madhya-deśa. There were no butchers' shops in the markets. Only the Cāṇḍālas sold flesh outside the city.⁵ It may have been that Fahien saw everything with Buddhist glasses. But the author of *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* (prior to 443 A.D.) states that the Buddha himself declared all kinds of meat uneatable for many reasons.⁶ That the Buddhists of the period were against meat diet can be seen also from the example of Harṣa who prohibited

¹ *Pititandana* or *māṁsandana* (meat cooked with rice)—Matsya. 268, 6-30
C.f.

शालीनामोदनं भुक्त्वा शूचिमासोपसेवितम्।
भुज्जानो शुल्ककुल्मापान् कल्पितम् परिताप्यसे।

Div. 559.1.

Māṁsarasa (meat soup)—Mrch. VIII. 14, X. 29, Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

39-46 Amar. II. 9. 45.

Sūlyamāṁsa (roasted on spits)—Śakuntala II., Amar. II. 9.45.

Āṅgārāśī patita māṁsa kbandam—Mrch. p. 98

Ballīra or *īsuka māṁsa* (Seasoned meat)—Ang. 64, Kāmasūtra. 174.15.

² *Vesapāra* (stuffing)—Ast. Hrd. Cikitsa I.

निरस्थि पितित मासं स्वत्रांगुडधूतान्वितम् कृष्णा मरिष संयुक्तं वेसवारं तदुच्चते।

³ *Dakalāvapika* (a kind of meat soup)—

स्वल्पेन मासेन स्वल्पेन शुप्त्यादिभिः क्रियन्ते स्वच्छाः ते रत्नादयः दकलावपिकाः।

⁴ *Amloyavāgu* (acidic gruel)—Kama Sutra. 174.15.

Astharasaka yūṣam (extract of meat)—Ibid.

⁵ Legge. P. 43.

⁶ The reasons given are:

1. The animal whose flesh is eaten may have been one's intimate relation.
2. Butchers sometimes bring flesh of unclean animals like dogs.
3. A non-vegetarian sees horrible dreams.
4. Flesh is produced from the semen of a male and the blood of a female hence it is impure.
5. Meat eating causes obstruction in the acquisition of learning.
6. A meat eater is deprived of learning.
7. Meat eating is the characteristic of an *Anārya* (uncultured person).
8. The Buddhist teachings are looked down upon if Śramaṇas take meat diet. See A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XX. parts III and IV.

taking of life under severe penalties and caused the use of flesh as food to cease throughout the five Indies.¹

A considerable section of Hindu society at that time did not look on meat diet with approval. Even the Kāmasūtra, which does not represent the views of religious authorities, states that to desist from eating meat was considered an act of merit.² Bhavabhūti pokes fun at the ancient custom of serving beef to a distinguished guest,³ and a copperplate inscription dated 465 A.D. clearly shows that the slayer of a cow was considered guilty of a heinous crime.⁴ The Vāyu Purāṇa in the same strain declares that slaughter of animals is not proper for sacrifices and one should perform sacrifices with cereals.⁵ Itsing also states that even laymen rarely have the taste of grease or flesh.⁶

HONEY AND SWEETS

The four varieties of honey mentioned in the medical works of the earlier period continued to be used in the reception of guests and other festive rites.⁷ But all the products of sugar-cane were widely used as sweetening ingredients in the food preparations.⁸ Of these *Sarkarā* was considered the best and

¹ Watters. Yuan Chwang Part. I. p. 344.

² प्रवृत्तेभ्यश्च मांसभक्षणादिभ्यः शास्त्रादेव निवारणं धर्मः।

Kamasutra. p. 127.

³ येनागतेषु वसिष्ठमित्रेषु वस्तस्तरी विशासिता।

Uttara Carita. IV. 87.

⁴ तदेतत् प्रवृत्तम् य उच्छिन्न्यात् सगोक्त्रह्याहत्यया संयुक्तोभवेत्।

C.I.I. III. p. 71.

⁵ शागमेन भवान् यज्ञं करोतु यद्दिव्यच्छसि।

विधिदण्ठेन यज्ञेन धर्ममध्ययहतुना।

यज्ञबीजः सुरब्रह्म येषु हिंसा न विधते।

Vayu. Pu. 57. 100.

C.f. Matsya. Pu. 143. 12-14.

⁶ Itsing. p. 44.

⁷ The four varieties of honey were:—

Bhrāmara, *pauttika*, *kṣaudra* and *mākikī*—See Ch. V. p. 145, f. n. 6.

भ्रामरं पौत्तिकं क्षौद्रं माक्किकं च यथोत्तरम्।

वरं जीर्णं च लेखनये हे एवह्युपयोजयेत्।

Ast. Sam. VI. 98.

Kumar. VI. 50, VII. 72, Raghu. XI 69, Visnu. III. 11.82, Vayu. 79. 11-12, 105.34, Kurma. 22.

⁸ Vāgbhaṭa I mentions five varieties of sugarcane:—

Pauḍhaka, *vāñjikā*, *salaparvaka*, *kāntāra* and *naipāla* and considers the juice extracted with the help of a machine unwholesome. Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 83-85.

C.f. Ast. Hrd. V. 44.

phānita the worst.¹ Bāṇa mentions two varieties of sugar, red and white.² Sugar was also prepared with a grass called *yavāsa*.³ Besides the old sweet⁴ preparations such as *madbulājā*, *kṛṣara*, *modakas*, *utkārikā*, *samīyāva*, *pūpa*, *pbenaka*, *pāyasa*, *abhyūṣa* and *gudaudana*,⁵ some new preparations are mentioned. *Morendaka* was a kind of sweet prepared from inspissated milk. The solid part of it was formed into the shape of the eggs of a peacock, fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar.⁶ *Vimardaka* was a preparation of groats and clarified butter.⁷ Other sweets mentioned are—*locikā*, *iṣṭaka*, *vitānaka*, and *polikā*. But as neither Sanskrit

Phānita—Angv. p. 182, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. VI. 86.

Guda—Angv. p. 181, Vayu. 105.34, Ast. Sam. VI. 86.

Matryāndikā—Angv. p. 181, Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 88, Malavika II. p. 42, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.

Khandā—Ast. Sam. VI. 88, Vayu. 105.34.

Sarkarā—Angv. p. 181, Kurma. 25, Amar. II. 9.43, Harsa. p. 156.

Sitā (sugarcandy)—Amar. II. 9.43, Ast. Hrd. V. 49.

¹ शक्तेरेतु विकाराणां काणितं च वरावरे।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 98.

² *Pātala Śarkarā*—(red sugar).

Karka Śarkarā—White sugar—Harsacarita p. 156.

³ Ast. Hrd. V. 50.

⁴ *Gudavikāra* denotes all sweets prepared with *guda* (Ritusambhāra V. 16) and *Khāndakhādyaka*, those with unrefined sugar.

जलानुपानं वा खण्डखाद्यकमन्यद्वा प्रकृतिसात्म्य युक्तमुभावप्युपयुक्तीयाताम्।
Kamasutra. IV. 10.16.

⁵ *Madbulājā*—Kāmandaka VII. 52.

C.f. Kurma. 20.

Kṛṣara—Matsya. 268. 6.30.

Modakas (sweet balls)—were generally prepared with rice or wheat flour mixed with sugar, some spices and slices of the kernel of cocoanuts.—Vikram. III. 65, 75. Angv. Mrch. V. 98, Malavika, p. 81, Sakuntala, p. 62, Matsya. 268. 6.30. Also see F.D.A.I. Ch. VI. p. 171.

Samīyāva—Kurma II. 17.

Pūpa or *apūpa*—Mrch. V. 98, Amar. II. 47-48, Vayu. 80.48, Matsya. 268. 6.30, Kurma. II. 17.

Pbenaka—Angv. 182. Fine sweet cakes prepared with powdered wheat flour.

Pāyasa—Matsya. 268. 6.30, Raghu. X. 51, 54.

Gṛtagūpā—Vayu. 80.47.

Abhyūṣa—Amar. II. 9.47.

Gudaudana—Mrch. I. 8, Matsya. 268.6.30.

Utkārikā was a sweet preparation with rice flour, milk, treacle and clarified butter.

Angv. 182, Bharata, III. 36-39, Div. 500-23.

⁶ *Morendaka*—Angv. p. 182.

⁷ घृत सकुफान्वितम् द्रव्यम् विभवेकम्

Ast. Hrd. Uttara. 39.

dictionaries nor books on food and drinks enlighten us about the way they were prepared it is difficult to say much about them.¹

SALTS, SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

All the varieties of salts mentioned by Caraka were in use.² As before saline preparations were considered exciting hence ascetics and newly married couples were advised to avoid them.³ There does not seem to have been any great change in this respect. The common spices used for seasoning were dry ginger, cumin, mustard, coriander, myrobalan, long pepper, black pepper, cloves, cardamom, turmeric and asafoetida.⁴ Black pepper is

¹ *Lekha*—Bharata. III. 36-39.

Iffaka

भृष्णान् वक्ष्ये करम्भव्यव इष्टका षुतपूरकाः।

Vayu. 80.47.

Vitarka—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

Polkā—Matsya. 268. 6-30.

² *Kāmasūtra*. I. 4.38, IV. 1.28, Brhat Sam. 76.11, Kurma. 22, Vayu. 74 Matsya 217.60, Raghu. V. 73, Angv. p. 182, Ast. Hrd. Su. 12.

तथानवजासनेहयोश्च गन्धकटुवभाज्जीघधानां च दुर्लभानां भवनेतु प्रचल्पं निधानम्।

Kamasutra. IV. 1.28.

यस्माद्भरसाः सर्वे नोत्कटा लवणिनाः।

प्रियं च शिवयोर्नित्यं तस्माच्छान्ति प्रदद्यते मे।

Matsya. 84.7.

The Matsya (217.60) mentions following varieties of salts: *Saindhava*, *udbbid*, *pātheya*, *pākya*, *sīmudra*, *lomaka*, *kuppa*, *sawareala*, *vīḍa*, *vālakeya*, *yavābaka*, *avrakṣīra*, *kālabbasma*.

³ संगतयोस्त्रिरात्रवयः शम्या ब्रह्मचर्यं शारलवणवर्जमाहारस्तथा सप्ताहं सतूर्यमञ्जल-स्नानं प्रसाधनम्।

Kama Sutra. 191.1.

अभोज्यानि यतीनाञ्च प्रत्यक्षत्वणानि च।

Vayu. 18.20.

⁴ हिञ्जज्ज्वला जीरकभद्रमूस्ता वचाया ग्रन्थिः तरुडा च शुष्ठीः।

एषां मध्या सेविता गन्धपूर्वित कथं नाहं मधुस्वर इति।

Mich. VIII. 13.

जीरको जरणोज्जाजी कणा कृष्णं तु जीरके, सुषबीकारवी पृष्ठीं पृथुः कालोपकुञ्चित्वका।

Amar. II. 9. 36-37.

परिषुतेषु च हरिताक वप्रानिदृस्तम्बाव्यीरक सर्वपाजमोद षातपुण्या तमाल गुलमांश्च कारयेत्।

Kamasutra. IV. 1.6.

साजमोदलवणाहरीतंकी शृङ्खवेर सहिता च पिप्पली।

मध्यतकतरलोणवारिभिश्चूर्णं पानमुदराम्नदीपनम्।

Bṛhatsamhitā. 76.11.

C.f. Matsya. II. 9.36-38, Kurma. 20, Vayu. 74, Raghu. IV. 46, VI. 57, Kumara. VIII. 25.

called Dharmapattana in the Amarakośa, which shows that it was grown near Dharmapattana on the sea coast.¹ Asafoetida is called Bāhlika which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.² The skin of *mātulinga* was used with betel leaves for perfuming the mouth.³

Many sauces and condiments were prepared and used. The most common were *kāmbalika*, *khaḍa*, *temana* and sour gruel. Two varieties of sour gruel, one in which husked cereals were used and the other in which unhusked cereals were used, are mentioned.⁴ Sour gruel seems to be a favourite article of food in *Kāñčī*, *Avanti* and *Sauvira*.⁵ Jams and syrups prepared from fruits were also used as condiments with food.⁶ Vinegar was prepared as before, from *guda*, sugarcane juice, cereals, and grapes. Bulbs, roots, and fruits were preserved in it.⁷ A new preparation from oil cake, which was acidic in taste, was called *Śrikukkuṭa*. It was in common use in Mālava country.⁸ The Harṣacarita mentions a preparation of fragrant mango fruit. Camphor, cloves and some sweet smelling flowers such as *campaka* were also used in preparing it.⁹

¹ Amar. II. 9.36.

² Amar. II. 9.40.

³ मातुलुङ्गत्वचस्तामूलानि च स्वः।

Kamasutra. I. 4.8.

⁴ विविध लवण फल हरित शाक तिक्त कटुकाम्लोपदंशान् वेश्याः पाययेषुः।

Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

Kāmbalika—Angv. p. 221. Also see F.D.A.I. p. 147, f. n. 7.

Khaḍa—Angv. p. 221. Also see F.D.A.I. p. 147, f. n. 6.

Temana—Amar. II. 9.44.

Vyanjana—(condiments) Kurma. 22.

Kāñčika—(sour gruel) Div. 496.5, Dhanvantari VI. 294. See F.D.A.I. p. 146, f. n. 7.

Tuṣṭodaka—sour gruel prepared with unhusked cereals.

Saṃprakā—Sour gruel prepared with husked cereals.

⁵ आरनालक सौंदीर कुलमाणाभिषुतानि च।

अवन्तिसोम धान्यामूङ्गजलानि च काञ्जिके।

Amar. II. 9.39.

Dasakumārscarita. VI.

Sauvira=Lower Sind.

⁶ *Khāṇḍava* (jams)—Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

Rāga (syrups prepared from fruits) Ast. Sam. Su. VII.

⁷ Ast. Hrd. Su. V.

⁸ तिलसर्वपिण्डाकजो मालवदेश प्रसिद्धो अम्लखडकविशेषः

Ast. Hrd. Cikitsa 12.

⁹ Harṣacarita, p. 66.

OILS AND OILSEEDS

All the oilseeds mentioned in the earlier period were used for extracting oil.¹ But besides clarified butter, sesamum oil and mustard oil were in general use as frying mediums.² Oil was used in preparing boiled rice and gruel.³ The oil extracted from sesamum was considered the best and that from safflower the worst.⁴ Vāgbhāṭa II recommends the use of oil chiefly in the winter season.⁵ Oil cake was used as food by hermits but its use is forbidden in a Srāddha.⁶ Many condiments were also prepared from it.⁷ Of the animal fats, fat of a goat is considered the best and that of an elephant the worst. Other animals, whose fat was used in food, were a fish called *auhukī*, a pig, a cock, and *Pākabamīsa*.⁸

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

Fruits, as before, formed a very important part of our diet.⁹ Yuan Chwang writes that in the region near Kashmir pears, plums, peaches, apricots and grapes were planted.¹⁰ Pomegranates and melons were grown everywhere.¹¹ He states that peaches and pears were introduced by the Chinese into India hence peaches

¹ Angv. p. 232, Div. 70.27, Mārkaṇḍeya. Pu. 29.9-11, Amar. II. 9.7-20, Sakuntala p. 94, Vayu. 5.9.

भौजनावशिष्टाद् चोरसात् सारग्रहणं तथातेलं गुडयोः . . . कुटुम्बावेक्षणं आचाम
मष्ठ तुप् कुट्ट्यज्ञाराजामुपयोजनम्।

Kamasutra. IV. 1.33.

² *Tilataila* (sesamum oil)—Beal Si-yu-ki. I. 88, Ast. Sam. Su. IX. It was included in untimely (*vikāla*) food. Watters VIII. p. 282.

³ *Sarjapatala* (mustard oil)—Itsing p. 44, Ast. Sam. Su. IX., Si-yu-ki. p. 88.

⁴ *Tailakāra* (boiled rice with oil)—Angv. p. 64.

Tailayavāgñi (gruel with oil)—Angv. p. 181.

⁵ तिलं तेलं वरं तेपु कीसुभमवरं परम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 111.

⁶ नवमनं वसां तेलम्।

Ast. Hrd. III. 13.

⁷ Vayu. 16.14., Kurma. 2.17.

⁸ *Tilapinyākavikṛti*—Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁹ भ्रातूकीं शौरीं पाकहृसजा कुकुटोद्भवावसा थेठा स्ववर्गेषु, कुम्भीरं महिषोद्भवा
काकं मद्गुबसातद्वत् कारण्डोत्था च निन्दिता। शास्त्राद् मेदसां छां ग्राहस्तिनं च वरावरे।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 113-114.

¹⁰ Angv. p. 64 and p. 231, Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168-209; Watters. p. 277.
Beal Si-yu-ki. II. 88, Itsing p. 45, Amar. II. 4.27-168. Vayu. 45-46.

¹¹ Watters Vol. II, 277.

¹² Watters Vol. II, p. 277.

were called Chināni and pears were called China-rājaputra.¹

He himself used to receive one hundred and twenty *Jambiras* (*citrus medica*) every day.² Bread fruit and cocoanut were cultivated in Assam (*Kāmarūpa*).³ In the Ajanta paintings we can see mango, custard apple, a round fruit which looks like a *Bilva* fruit or a lemon and another fruit which looks like a brinjal.⁴ Of all the fruits, grapes were considered the best⁵ and *Lakṣuṇa* the worst.⁶

From the Vāyu Purāṇa we learn that the people of Hari-vanīṣa liked the juice of sugarcane, the people of Hiranyavatavarṣa the juice of *Lakṣuṇa*, those of Ramaṇakavarṣa the juice of the fruit of *Nyagrodha*, those of Ilavṛtavarṣa of the juice of *jambū* fruit, those of Gandhamadana island the juice of bread fruit and the Siddhas the juice of *Parūṣaka*. Although we are not in a position to identify all these regions, yet it shows the popularity of fruit juices in the country.⁷

All the vegetables, which were spoiled by frost, fire, bad breeze, carnivorous animals, eaten by insects or growing under water or not growing in a proper season, very old or dry, were avoided, but dry radish and unripe *Bilva* fruit were used.⁸ From the Kāmasūtra it appears that besides radish, *kūṣmāṇḍa* (pumpkin

¹ Watters Vol. I. pp. 292-293.

² Beal—Life of Yuan Chwang.

³ Beal—Si-yu-ki. II. 195.

⁴ Griffith—Ajanta Paintings Cave I plates 102-112.

⁵ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168.

⁶ कलानामवरे तत्र लिकुचं सर्वदोषकृत्

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 168.

⁷ Juice of sugarcane—Vayu. 46.9.

Juice of *Lakṣuṇa* fruit—Vayu. 46-9.

Juice of *Nyagrodha* fruit—Ibid.

Juice of *Jambū* fruit—Vayu. 46.12-29.

Juice of Bread fruit—Vayu. 43. 4-5.

Juice of *Parūṣaka*—Vayu. 38.65.

⁸ हिमानलोण दुवीत व्याल लालादि दूषितम्।

जन्तुजुट्टे जले मग्नम् भूमिजयनात्वम्।

अन्य धान्ययुतंहीनवीर्यजीणतयाति च।

धान्यं त्यजेत्तथा शार्क रुक्षं सिद्धमकोमलम्

असञ्जातरसंतद्वृक्षकं चान्यत्रभूलकात्

प्रायेण कलमन्येवं तथाऽम् विलवर्जितम्।

Ast. Hrd. Su. VI. 140-43.

gourd), *āluka* (an esculent root), *pālamīki* (a pot herb), *damanaka*, the hogplum (*āmrātaka*), *ervāruka* (a kind of cucumber), *trapusa* (cucumber), bottle gourd and brinjal were in common use.¹ Some other vegetables such as *sīraṇa*, *sigru* and *granthiparna* were also eaten.² But according to medical works *Paṭola*, *Kuṣmāṇḍa*, *sunīṣappaka*, *jīvantī*, unripe radish and *vāstuṅka* were considered good vegetables³ and leaves and stalks of mustard the worst.⁴

Yuan Chwang states that lotus fibres were used as food by the ascetics.⁵ People generally avoided the use of onions and garlic.⁶ According to Itsing the Hindus believed that onions of any kind caused pain, spoilt eyesight and caused the body to become more and more weak.⁷ But the Bower MSS. prescribe the use of garlic as medicine in the treatment of many diseases. The author prescribes a method by which it could be administered to those Brāhmaṇas who avoided it. He says that a cow should be kept without grass for three nights. She should then be given stalks of garlic with some grass to eat and her milk, curds, clarified butter and buttermilk should be given to such Brāhmaṇas.⁸ He also describes how a soup of garlic should be prepared, with some flour, meat, ground *mudga* pulse, some green and dry spices and *Sōñcalā* salt. The mixture should be well fried in clarified butter before preparing the soup.⁹

¹ मूलकालुक पलस्ती दमनका भ्रातकर्वाणिक व्रपुस वार्ताकि कुभाण्डालाबु . सूरण शुकनासा स्वयं गुरुता तिलपर्णिकानिमन्थ लशुन पलाण्ह प्रभूतीनां सर्वोषधीनां च वीजग्रहणं काले वापसच ।

Kāmasūtra, IV, 1.29.

² उखूक वचावङ्क क सुरस सूरण शिष्ठु ग्रन्थिपर्णिगवेषुका गर्मद् गुलम गृह वाटिकैः ।

Harsacarita, p. 229.

³ शीलये छालिगोधूम यवथटिक जाङ्गलम् ।

सुनिवण्णक जीवन्ती बालमूलक वास्तुकम् ।

Ast. Hrd. VIII, 42-43.

पथ्यामलक मृदीका पटोला: मुद्ग शकंरा: ।
बलीफलानां प्रवरं कूमाण्ड वातपिशजित् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII, 134.

⁴ शाकानामवरं विष्मूत्रसर्वदोषकृत् ।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII, 151.

⁵ Watters—Yuan Chwang, II, 117.

⁶ Watters—Yuan Chwang, p. 178, Beal Si-yu-ki II, 88.

⁷ Itsing, p. 45 and p. 137.

⁸ Bower MSS. I, 34.

⁹ कन्दाञ्चुरुभानपहृतमलान् सक्तुकुलमासचुर्वैः

सर्पस्तैलाभ्यां समितविकृतैः सूपमांसप्रकारैः ।

मोदगैश्वूर्णहरितकयुतगेन्ध तौवर्चलाङ्घै—

रचात्सस्कारवहुभिरपरैः साधितावेतराणि ।

Bower, MSS. I, 31.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

From the *Āngavijjā* it appears that many varieties of intoxicating drinks were in use.¹ Kālidāsa's works have similarly many references to drinking.² It was believed that intoxication gave a special charm to women; ladies of royal families, therefore, enjoyed drinking.³ Police officers, soldiers, drummers and their friends are represented as enjoying themselves by drinking in the liquorshops.⁴ The statement of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* that in Kaliyuga even women would drink has probably a reference to contemporary habits i.e. to the fourth century A.D. when it was finally redacted.⁵ The *Matsya Purāṇa* describes Kṛṣṇa drinking with sixteen thousand ladies and does not regard him as a sinner. Ajantā paintings also depict scenes of drinking such as wines being brought in large jars.⁶ Yuan Chwang states that the

¹ The *Angv.* (p. 64, p. 181, 221) mentions the following varieties of intoxicating drinks :—

Apakṣarasa, pakṣarasa, āsava, arīṣṭa, maireyaka, madhu, godhasūlaka, yava, prasannā, ayasa, svetashūrā, dāśavāsava, niṣṭhita, madhura, jagala, aṭṭhakālikā, mrd, phusrukundi, jayakālikā.

² *Sakuntalā* VI. p. 188, *Ritusamhāra*. I. 3, IV. 11, VI. 10, *Raghu*. IV. 42, 61, XIII. 52.

³ In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* Irāvati indulges in drinking. Indumati, the queen of Aja liked to receive wine from the mouth of her husband (*Raghu*. VIII. 68). The Mandsore inscription (Fleet C.I.I. III. 18. p. 81) mentions a phrase, 'like the cheeks of intoxicated women.' The after effects of drinking on women are described in the *Kumārasambhava*. The *Harṣacarita* (p. 82) also mentions beautiful ladies who had drunk wine. Kumārila mentions that in Abicchatra and Mathurā even Brāhmaṇa women indulged in drinking.

प्रथमं लोकवाद एव अथ सर्वं संवृत्तः।

Malavika. III. 49.

स्वलयन् पदे पदे।

Kumar. IV. 12.

चूर्णमान नयनम्

Kumar. VIII. 80.

⁴ लब्ध भधुमदे प्रचण्ड चमंकारपुटोल्लालित कोण पटु विषट्टुन रजन मञ्जलपटहम्।
Harṣacarita. IV. p. 142.

दीयते गणिका कामुकानां सर्कूरं ताम्बूलम् दीयते चानवरतं ससील्कारं मदिरा इमाः
चेटाः आसवकरकापीतमदिरैर्गणिकाजनेयं मुकुलास्ते पिबन्ति।

Mrich. VI.

Cf. *Sakuntalā*. VI. p. 182.

⁵ *Vāyu* 58.43.

The Brāhmaṇa Smṛti also lays down that drinking should be avoided only by those women whose husbands are away.

मध्य मासाभियोगं च न कुप्ति श्रोषितेप्रभौ।

Bṛhaspati. Sm. 25.13. p. 194.

⁶ Fahien states that drinking was unknown throughout Madhyadeśa but

Kṣatriyas used intoxicating drinks prepared from the juice of grapes and sugarcane while the Vaiśyas used strong fermented drinks. The Śramaṇas and the Brahmanas drank only syrups prepared with the juice of grapes and sugarcane.¹ Cultivation of *soma* plant is referred to in the Harṣacarita. It is, therefore, probable that Brāhmaṇas may have used *soma* juice as a beverage.² From Perumpanattarupadai we learn that in the south people other than Brāhmaṇas were addicted to drinking.³ Rich liquors imported from the west were served at the royal table and the poor enjoyed country wine.⁴

Intoxicating drinks were generally prepared from grapes, sugarcane, honey and rice.⁵ Wines flavoured with mango juice and *Pāṭala* flowers were also used.⁶ The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions an intoxicating liquor called *Kafya*.⁷ Wines were also prepared from such fruits as *rājāḍana* and *madamaphala* and *madhūka* flowers.⁸ All the varieties of liquors mentioned in the earlier period were used in this period and the medical works prescribe their moderate use, as in the earlier works.⁹

the literary evidence before us makes it highly improbable.

आपानगोष्ठीयु तथा तासां स नरपुञ्जवः।

शुश्राव विविदं गीतं तन्त्रीस्वरविमिथितम्।

Matsya. 120.31.

Griffith—Ajanta Paintings.

¹ Watters—Yuan Chwang. I. p. 17.8.

Beal Si-yu-ki, p. 89.

² सेकसुकुमार सोमके दारिका हरितायमाण प्रधणानि

Harṣacarita. II. p. 44.

³ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—A History of South India, p. 194.

⁴ Porunar. II. 84-93, 102-121.

⁵ द्राक्षेभूर्मालिकं शालिहत्तमाप्नीहि पञ्चमा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI.

⁶ Raghu. XIX. 46.

⁷ कश्यं मध्यं स्मृतं विष्णः।

Vayu. 65.116.

⁸ Harṣacarita. p. 230.

⁹ *Surd*—Amar. II. 10.39, Kamasutra. IV. 1.35.

Vāruṇī—Kumar. IV. 12.

Sidhu—Amar. II. 10.42, Raghu. XVI. 52, Malavika. IV. p. 48, Mrch. VII. 30.

Surāsava—सीधु सुरासवमत्ता।

Mrch. VII. 30.

Maireya—तत्र मधु मैरेयसुरासवान्

Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

C.f. Ibid. IV. 1.35.

DRINKING WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Bad smelling and foamy water and that taken from small ponds was not used for drinking purposes.¹ Good drinking water is said to have eight virtues which are, however, not mentioned.² The water from rivers, tanks, springs and wells was, as before generally used for drinking.³ It was stored in jars hung in windows, receiving cool gusts of breeze which kept it cool by evaporation.⁴ In the Harṣacarita we find a special officer in charge of drinking water.⁵ In the medical works water is called the very essence of life.⁶ Rain water is regarded as the best for drinking, especially, in the rainy season while impure water, if necessary, was used only after straining in a piece of cloth.⁷

Prasannā—Amar. II. 10.40.

Kādambarī—Amar. II. 10.40.

Mādhabī—Amar. II. 10.41, Kamasutra. I. 4.38.

Nārikelāsava (an āsava prepared from the juice of cocoanut.) Raghu.

IV. 65.

Madīrd—Mrch. VI., Ritusamhāra VI. 10. For details see F. D. A. I. Chapter V. pp. 151-53, Ast. Sam. Su. VI and Ast. Hrd. V.

दीपनं रोचनं नर्यं तीक्ष्णोणं तुष्टिपुष्टिवम्
सस्वादु तिक्त कटकमस्लपाकरसम् सरम्
स कथायं स्वरारोग्यं प्रतिभावणकृत्स्वं
नव्वनिद्राऽतिनिवेद्यो हिं पित्तासदूषणम्
कृशस्थूलं हिं स्वस्त्रं ज्ञोतो विशोधनम्।
वातश्ळेष्मं हरं युक्त्यापीतं विषवदन्यथा।

Ast. Hrd. Su. V. 62-65.

¹ दुर्गन्धं केनिलं चैव तथा वै पत्वलोदकम्
न लभेद्यत्र मौस्तुपिं नक्तं यच्चैव गृह्णते।

Vayu. 78.16.

² अष्टाङ्गोपेतस्य पानीयस्यामूर्यतेति।

Div. 127.19.

³ कौप सारस ताडाग चौड्यं प्रासवणीदिभदम्।
बापी नदीतोषमिति पुनः स्मृतमष्टधा।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 12.

C.f. Angv. p. 232.

⁴ अवलम्बिता गलाक्षेषु वातं गृह्णन्ति सलिलं गग्नयेत्।

Mrch. IV.

⁵ *Tøyakarmāntika*—Harṣacarita Chapter V.

⁶ पानीयं प्राणिणां प्राणा विष्वमेव च तन्मयम्

अतोऽस्यन्तनियेषेऽपि न वचनिद् वारि वार्यते।

Ast. Sam. Su. VI. 30.

⁷ दिव्यं वारि वरं वर्षे।

Ast. Sam. VI. 52.

Milk and its other products such as butter-milk were generally used as beverages. Sometimes earthen pots containing butter milk were cooled by keeping them underground in ice which was brought from the Himalayas.¹ Many syrups were prepared with the juices of fruits such as mango, dates, grapes, *laksha*, rose apple, *nyagrodha*, bread fruit and *parūṣaka*. Juice of sugar-cane, and *guḍa* mixed with water were also used as beverages.² Drinks were also prepared with some spices such as dry ginger, *asana* and *jalada*.³ Itsing states that it was a common practice in India to offer one of the eight syrups prescribed by the Buddha to distinguished visitors, teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends.⁴ Syrups are frequently mentioned in other works of the period.⁵ Some drinks prepared with plantain, cocoanut, and *patola* leaves were used in the summer season. Camphor was mixed in these beverages to make them fragrant.⁶

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The art of cooking was considered so important that it is regarded as one of the sixty four fine arts.⁷ The story of Gomini

खात धीत शिला पृष्ठ वस्त्रादिभ्यः सुतंजलम् ।
हेममूष्मयपात्रस्थमविचर्त्त लदा पिबेत् ।
शुगवेराम्बुसाराम्बु मध्वम्बु जलदाम्बु च ।

Ast. Hrd. III. 23.

¹ तुषार परिकरक विशिरी त्रियमाणोदशिविति ।

Harsacarita. V.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 183, f. n. 7.

³ Ast. Hrd. III. 23. See F.D.A.I. 187, f. n. 7.

⁴ Itsing p. 125.

⁵ उणमन्न द्विजातिभ्यो दातव्यं श्रेय इच्छता ।

अन्यत्र कलं भूलोभ्यो पानकेभ्यस्तथैवच ।

Kurma.

जलानुपानं खण्डखाद्यकमन्यद्वा प्रकृतिसारम्ययुक्तमुभावप्युपयुज्जीवाताम् ।

Kamasutra. II. 10.15-17.

C.f. Angv. p. 181.

⁶ पिवेद् रसं नाति घरं रसाला रागधाडवौ । ३०

पानकं पञ्चसारं वा नवं मूद्भाजने स्थितम् ।

मोच चोच वलैर्द्युक्तं साम्यं मूष्मय शुक्तिभिः । ३१

पाटला वासितं चाम्भः सकर्पूरं सुशीतलम् ।

मधुसर्जूरं मृद्दीका परूषकं सिताम्भसा । ३२

मन्थोद्वा पञ्च चारेण सर्वत्तेजसकुम्भिः । ३३

द्राक्षा मधूक शूर्जूर काशमर्यं सपरूषकः । ३४

तुल्यांशैः कल्पितं पूतं शीतं कर्पूर वासितम् ।

Ast. Hrd. Su. III. 30-34.

⁷ Kamasutra.

in the Daśakumāracatita shows that proficiency in cooking was considered an essential qualification of brides.¹ Kitchens were generally located in well lighted, clean, quiet and secluded places where strangers might have no access.² Cooks expert in cooking pulses, rice, cakes, and sweets are mentioned.³ There is also mention of a special officer in charge of the kitchen in the Allahabad inscription.⁴

The various processes in cooking such as mixing various substances, frying in oils or clarified butter, and fumigation are mentioned in the Amarakośa.⁵ The description of Vasanta-senā's kitchen is interesting.⁶ Even in a hermitage like that of Vālmīki such fine preparations as rice boiled with some fruits and vegetables were available. Their fragrance pervaded the whole atmosphere.⁷ The Ast. Sam. mentions cakes cooked in a fire made of chaff, a pot sherd, a frying pan, an oven, and on charcoal.⁸

¹ Daśakumāracarita. VI.

² महानसं च सुगृह्णे स्वादशनीयं च।

Kama Sutra. IV. 1.18.

C.f. Ast. Sam. Su. VIII. 60.61, Amar. II. 9.27.

³ सूपकारास्तु बल्लवा:।

प्रारालिका आन्वसिका: मूदाश्रीदनिका गुणा:।

प्रापूरिक: कालदिका भवयकार इमेत्रिषु।

Amar. II. 9. 27-28.

सदृश्यञ्जन कर्त्तरिस्तल्पका व्यधकास्तथा।

प्रसाधका भोजकाश्च गावसंबाहकास्तथा।

Kamandaka. VII. 15.

⁴ *Khadyaṭapākika* (a superintendent of the kitchen.) (Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta). The chief cook is called *Pānrogava*, (*Hariṣacarita*, Amar. II. 9.27.)

⁵ *Bhāvīta*—fumigated.

Pitcibila (sauce mixed with rice or gruel).

Āpakva (fried in butter).

Amar. II. 9. 46-47.

⁶ अथ दरिद्र जनलोभोत्याकृत कर आहाररूपचितो हिङ्गु तैल गन्धः विविधे सुरंगि धूमो-
दृशार्दीन्तर्व संताप्यमानं निःश्वसतीव महानसंदारमुखैः।

अथमपरः हृतपशुद्वरपेशि धावतिरूपिद्वारकः। बद्धुविद्याहारं मुप साधयति सूपकारः।
बद्धन्ते भोदकाः पञ्चन्ते पूपकाः।

Mṛch. IV. p. 237.

⁷ गन्धेन स्फुरता मनाग्नुसूतोभक्तस्य सूपिष्मतः।

कर्कन्थू फलसिंशशाकपचनामोदः परिस्तीर्यते।

Uttaracarita. IV. 1.

⁸ कुकूल खर्परभ्राष्ट कन्छङ्गारविपचितान्

एकयोनी लघूनविद्यारपूपानुतरोत्तरम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 66.

As before the rich generally used utensils made of gold or silver, the people of the middle classes—vessels made of other metals and the poor leaves sewn together and earthenware.¹ All the utensils mentioned in the earlier period were in common use.² From the account of Yuan Chwang we learn that people used saucepans and stewpans but they did not know the use of a steamer. People did not use spoons or chop sticks.³ Drinking cups were made of conchshell and were engraved with designs.⁴ Oil was stored in leather bags.⁵ Spitoons for spitting the juice of betel leaves had come into use.⁶

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the early periods a householder is expected to offer food to gods, guests, Brāhmaṇas, spirits and dependants before he himself takes his meals. It is stated that many gods come to the householder in the form of a guest so a man should always be anxious to accord hospitality to a guest and he who takes his meals without feeding a guest is a sinner.⁷ To provide food

¹ भूस्त्वाशतपले पात्रे सौवर्णे राजतेऽधवावा
भूञ्जानोमूष्मये पात्रे कच्छिप्ति परिताप्तसे।

Div. 559.

सौवर्णं राजतं ताम्रं पितृणां पात्रमूष्मयते।

Vayu. 47.1.

Itsing states that fresh leaves sewn together were used as plates and bronze vessels were also used (pp. 46-47).

² The Harṣacarita VII mentions a water jar (*kalasa*), *harkari*, *knubbha*, (*aliñjara*), a box for betel leaves (*tāmbūla karaka*), a utensil for cooking (*tāmracarapa*), an iron pan (*kajāba*), a drinking cup (*pānabhājana*), a ring well (*gapda kusūla*), a pan (*tāpaka*) or (*tāpikā*) and a spit (*bastaka*).

C.f. Amar. II. 9. 30-34.

³ Beal. Si-yu-ki. I. 89.

⁴ Harṣacrita. pp. 156, 207.

⁵ Amar. *Kutya* or *kutupa*. II. 9.33.

⁶ *Bhāṇupātadgraba*—Kamasutra. IV. 1.18.

⁷ See Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 37 F.D.A.I. p. 191, f. n. 2.

घाता प्रजापतिः शक्तो वह्निवर्गु गणोर्यमा।

प्रविश्यातिथिमेते वै भूञ्जतेऽप्तं नरेस्वर। ६६।

तस्मादतिथिपूजायां यतेत खततं नरः।

स केवलमधं भूक्ते यो भूक्ते त्वतिथिं विना। ६७।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11. 66-67.

ततः मुवासिनी हुःखि गर्भिणी वृद्ध वालकान्

भोजयेत् तंस्कृताश्रेन प्रथमं चरमं गृही।

Visnu. III. 11. 68.

and drinks to the blind, the sick, the lame, the poor, and the orphans is considered a sacred duty,¹ and it is laid down that one should never cook food only for himself.

The Purāṇas repeat the rules about the purity of food. They prohibit the use of unclean food and that offered by unclean or dishonest persons for it is stated that one who eats food offered by a sinner himself becomes a sinner.²

The duty of taking meals on a clean piece of ground after washing hands, feet and mouth is equally emphasised.³ Even a

यत्किञ्चित् पञ्चते येहै भक्षणं वा भोज्यमे व च
अनिवेद्य न भोक्तव्यं तस्मिन्नायतने सदा।

Vayu. Pu. 74. 31.

यज्ञावशिष्टमध्यादा न कुद्धी नात्यमानसः।
आत्मार्थं भोजनं यस्य रत्नर्थं यस्य मैथुनम्।
वृत्यर्थं यस्य चाधीतं निष्कलं तस्य जीवितम्।

Kurma. Pu. 19.

Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra (III. 36-39) also gives food offerings suitable for Brāhmaṇas, gods, manes, sages, Rākṣasas, and birds.

अप्राप्तविधानेन भुज्जीतार्थं विनात्यपात्।
अभिनन्द्य प्रसन्नात्मा हृत्वा दत्वा च शक्तितः।
पाकं सजलमेकान्ते यथासुखमिति कुवन्
प्रयच्छेत् सर्वमुद्दिश्य पाचयेनान्नमात्मने।

Ast. Sam. III. 76-77.

¹ अन्ध व्यापित हीनाङ्गुष्ठीनानाय वनीपकाः।
तेष्यप्राप्तान्म् साम्येन लभेरम् विषट्टिताः।

Ratnāvali. IV. 20.

² Kurma. Pu. II. Ch. XVII., Matsya. Ch. 16.
यो यस्यान्नं समस्ताति स तस्याशनाति किल्विषम्।

Kurma. Pu. II. Ch. 17.

काले सात्म्यं शुचि हितं स्तिरघोणं लघुतन्मना। ३५।
षड्गुप्तं मधुरप्रायं नातिद्रुतविलम्बितम्।
स्नातः कुद्धान् विविक्तस्यो धौतपादकराननः। ३६।
तर्पयित्वा पितृन् देवानतिथीन् वासकान् गुह्णन्।
प्रत्यवेक्ष्य तिरश्चोऽपि प्रतिपत्ते परिवहान्। ३७।
सर्वीश्वरं सम्प्रगात्मानवनिन्द्रियवृत्तवृत्तं द्रवम्।
इष्टमिष्टं सहादनीयाच्छुचिभक्तजनाहृतम्। ३८।
भोजनं तृणकेशादिवृष्ट्युप्तीकृतं पुराः।
शाकावरान्नं भूयिष्ठमत्पृष्ठं लवणं त्वयेत्। ३९।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 35-39.

³ Ast. Sam. Su. X. 16., Itsing. Chapter III. p. 26.

पञ्चाद्रौ भोजनङ् कुर्याद् भूमी पात्रं निधाय च।
उपवासेन तत्त्वाय भनुराह प्रजापतिः।
उपतिष्ठे शुचौदेवो पादो प्रक्षालय वै करो।
आचाम्याद्रौनोऽक्रोधः पञ्चाद्रौ भोजनञ्चरेत्।

Kurma. Pu. XIX.

work on medicine like the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* lays down that one should avoid food offered by persons about to die, those maintaining themselves with difficulty, the henpecked, eunuchs, the degraded, hunters, evil doers, associations, enemies, prostitutes, rogues, and a usurer, as also food given in charity to all.¹ The *Matsya Purāṇa* includes atheists, people living in non-Aryan regions, such as Dravida, Konkaṇa and a worshipper of Siva (*lingin*) in the above list.² Leavings of food were not used by respectable persons.³ But Kumārila states that some Brāhmaṇas used to take food of which their friends or relatives had already partaken. He also mentions that the Brāhmaṇas in the north used to eat from the same plate with their wives, children and friends.⁴ But all these rules could be waived in times of scarcity. From the *Kādambarī* we learn that in times of need the people of the high castes could use food and water offered by a Cāṇḍāla.⁵ Food was taken in a happy mood without reviling it and the practice of washing hands and mouth after meals was observed. Those who did not observe it were looked down upon in society.⁶

There were generally three meals. According to Śabara Devadatta's morning meal consisted of cakes, midday meal of

¹ नाज्ञमद्यान्मुषणिं मृतानां दुष्कर्तीविनाम् ।
स्त्रीजित वलीब पतित कुरु दुष्कृतकारिणाम् ।७६।
गणारि गणिका सप्तधूतौनां पाणिकं च न ।
नोत्सङ्घे भक्षयेद् भक्षान् जलं नान्वजिना पिवेत् ।७६।

Ast. Sam. III. 78-79.

² Matsya. Pu. XVI.

Cf. Kurma. Pt. II. Ch. XVII.

³ Itsing. Ch. IV. p. 24, 25, 26.

'Indians take bath before meals. They do not give leavings of food to anybody. Utensils once used are not given to others without being properly cleaned. Earthen and wooden vessels are used only once. Gold, silver, and copper vessels are cleaned before they are used again'—Watters on Yuan Chwang. IX. p. 152.

⁴ Tantravārtika.

⁵ Kādambarī.

⁶ Itsing. IX. 39, Ast. Sam. X. 39.

अनिन्द्यं भक्षयेदित्यं वान्यतोऽभमकुत्सयन् ।
पञ्चप्राप्तान् महामीनं प्राणाद्याप्यायनाय च ।

Vispu. Pu. III. 11.85.

भक्त्वा सम्यग्नाचाम्यं प्राणमुलोद्धमुलोश्चिवा ।
यथावत् पुनराचमेत् पाणी प्रक्षाल्यमलतः ।
सुस्थः प्रक्षान्तचित्तस्तु कृतासनपरिप्रहः ।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11. 86-87.

various food preparations and afternoon meal of sweets such as *modakas*. It seems that there was generally no evening meal.¹ But this may not have been the general rule for every one. Some people, it seems, also took evening meal.² The times of taking meals seem to be well regulated on medical grounds and the transgression of the appropriate time was adjudged a bad habit by physicians.³ Taking meals at midnight at noon or when one was suffering from indigestion was considered improper.⁴ The old rule of dividing the stomach into four parts—two for solid food, one for liquid and one for wind etc. is repeated.⁵

The necessity of changing food according to the temperament and not eating the same preparations day after day was fully recognised.⁶ As before, medical works prescribe food articles suitable for different seasons⁷ and give a list of articles which

¹ यथा देवदत्तः प्रातरपूर्वं भक्षयति, माघ्यन्दिने विविधमभ्रमस्ताति, अपराह्णे मोदकान् भवयतीति एकस्मिन्नाहनीतिगम्यते ।

Sabara on Jaimini V. 1.20.

Also see 'Itsing in India' by V.R.R. Dikshitar in I.H.Q. March, 1952, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 p. 117.

श्रस्तिकिञ्चित् प्रातराशोनवेति ।

Mucchakaṭika.

² पूर्वहृणापराह्णयोर्भोजनम् । साथं चारायनस्य ।

Kamasutra. I. 4.7.

³ उचितवेलातिकम् चिकित्सकादोषमुदाहरन्ति ।

Malavikagnimitra. II. 35.

⁴ नार्थरात्रे न मध्याह्ने नाजीर्णे नार्द्धवस्त्रधृक् न भिन्नभाजने चैव न भूम्यां न च पाणिषु ।

Kurma. Pu. II. 19, 20.

C.f. Ast. Hr. Su. XI. 63-68.

⁵ अन्नेन कुर्सेद्विंशी पानेनकं प्रपुरयेत् । आश्रयं पवनादीनाम् चतुर्थमवश्येत् ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 46-47.

⁶ Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 35. See Ast. Sam. Su. X. 67.

⁷ For Food for winter—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 13-17 and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 12-13.

For Food for the spring season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 25-27. and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 20-26.

Food For summer—Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 32-34.

भजेन्मधुरमेवाऽन्नं लघुं त्तिनर्थं हिमंद्रवम् ।

सुशीततोयसिकताङ्गो लिह्यात् सक्तून् सशर्करान् । २८।

मध्यं न पेयं, पेयं वा स्वल्पे सबहृवारि वा

कुन्देनदुधवलंशालिमदनीयाजाङ्गलैः पलैः ।

पिवेद्विसं नातिथिं रसालां रागपादवी । ३०।

पानकं पञ्चसारं वा नवमूद्भाजने स्थितम् ।

could be used daily and of those which should only be used rarely. Easily digestible articles are recommended for daily use while those difficult to digest are considered unfit for daily use.¹ It is laid down that articles difficult to digest, sweet and fatty should be taken in the beginning, acidic and saline preparation in the middle and other flavours in the end.² As before the medical works also mention preparations which should not be taken together.³

The general rules of etiquette were mostly the same as in the earlier period. People were generally expected to eat facing the east, sitting on a seat and not on a cot, in proper utensils, at proper time and at a proper place.⁴ They were also expected

मोच चोषदलैयुक्तं सात्यन्यं मूण्डवशुकितमिः । ३१।
पाटसावासितं चामः सकर्पूरं सुशीतलम् ।
मधुखर्जूरं मृद्दीका पृष्ठकं सिताम्भसा ।
मन्थो वा पञ्चसारेण सघृते लाजसकुभिः ।
द्राक्षा मधुकं लर्जूरं काशमर्यः सपहृषकः ।
तुल्यांशैः कल्पतं पूर्णं शीतं कर्पूरवासितम् । ३५।

Ast. Hr. Su. III. 28-35.

For Food for the Rainy season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 44-46. and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 45-47.

For Food for the Autumn season—See Ast. Sam. Su. IV. 54-59, and Ast. Hr. Su. III. 47-48.

¹ शीतयेच्छालिगोधूम यवं पृष्ठकं जाङ्गलम् ।
सुनिष्ठणकं शीतन्ती बालमलकं वास्तुकम् । ४२।
पद्मामलकमृद्दीका पटलीमुद्गर्शकरा ।
भूतं दिघ्योदकं क्षीरं क्षीदाडिम सैन्धवम् । ४३।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 42-43.

किलाट वधि कूर्चिका आरं शुक्ताममूलकम् ।
कुशाशूकं वराहार्वि गोमत्यं मद्विषामिषम् । ४०।
माषानिष्पाव शालूकं विस पिष्ठ विष्ठुकम् ।
शुकं शाकानि वयकान् फाणितं च न शीतयेत् । ४१।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 40-41.

² विसेतु मोचबोधाभ्रमोक्तोलकरिकादिकम्
अशाद् द्वयं गुरुं स्तिर्यं स्वादु मन्दं स्तिरं पुरः । ४५
विपरीतमतश्चान्ते मध्येऽमलवणोल्काटम् ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 45-46.
C.f. Visnu. Pu. III. 11.82-83.

³ Ast. Sam. Su. IX. 1-12.

⁴ प्राइमुखोऽग्निभुज्ञीत सूर्याभिमुखएव च ।
आसीनः स्वासने शुद्धे भूम्यां पादीनिधाय च ।
प्रायुष्यं प्राइमुखो भुज्ञते वशस्यं दक्षिणामुखः ।
श्रियं प्रत्यहमुखो भुज्ञते अतं भुज्ञते उद्दमुखः ।

Kurma Pt. II. Ch. XIX.

to take off their head dress and shoes before taking meals.¹ A person was not advised to eat in darkness, in a temple or with his wife. He was not to eat from a broken vessel or from the lap or from the palm of his hands,² nor should he drink water by joining his hands together.³ A person was not to take sweets when others did not partake of them.⁴ He was not to eat all the solid food served to him but was to leave some for departed spirits and birds.⁵ But it was considered improper to leave liquid articles of food such as honey, curds and clarified butter as also delicious cakes called *Sasikuli*.⁶ People generally avoided preparations of sesamum at night.⁷

Itsing states that sitting crosslegged side by side and to have meals stretched out was considered improper. The priests sat on separate small chairs. The chair was about seven inches high by a foot square and its seat was made of wicker. They placed their feet on the ground and trays were placed before them.⁸ First one or two pieces of ginger with some salt were

नार्थं च संस्थिते पावे नाकेशो च नरेशवदः।
नाकाले नातिसंकीर्णे दत्तवाप्तं च नराम्बये।

Visnu. III. 11.79.

¹ यद्भुद्भूते वेदित्तिशिरा: यच्चभुद्भूते विदिहमूसः।
सोपानलकश्च यो भुद्भूते सर्वविद्यात्तदासुरम्।

Kurma. XIX.

² नार्थरात्रे न मध्याह्ने नाजीर्णे नाईवस्त्रघृक्।
न भिन्नभाजने चैव न भूम्यां न पाणिषु।
नोच्छिष्टो धृतमाद्यान्नं मूर्धनिं स्पृशन्नपि।
न ब्रह्मकीर्तियित्वापि न निशेषं न भार्या।
नान्धकारे न सन्ध्यायां न च देवालयादिषु।

Kurma Pu. II. 19. 20-22

³ See F.D.A.I. p. 192, f. n. 1.

⁴ नादत्वामृष्टमृष्टनीयात् वहूनां च पश्यताम्।
नाशनीयु वहृवश्चैव नरावैकस्य पश्यतः।
वहूनां प्रेक्षमाणानां नैकस्मिन् वहृवस्तथा।

Visnu. Pu.

⁵ Itsing. p. 24.

⁶ नाशेषं पुरुषोऽनीयावन्यत्र जगतीपते।
मध्यज्ञदधिसर्पिष्यः शङ्कुल्यश्च विवेकान्।

Visnu. Pu. III. 11.82.

⁷ सर्वं च तिलसंबद्धं नादादस्तमिते रखी
न भुक्तमात्रं आवस्येन निषिद्धं भजेत्सुखम्।

Ast. Sam. Su. III. 80.

⁸ Itsing. pp. 22, 24, 116, 123.

served. Then some boiled rice and bean soup were served with hot butter sauce as flavouring which was mixed with fingers with other food. Then cakes, fruits, clarified butter and sugar were served.¹ After the guests had taken their meals tooth woods and pure water were supplied to them for cleansing the mouth. Sometimes a perfumed paste was given to rub hands with before washing in order to make them fragrant and clean.

The practice of drinking some liquid such as cold or warm water, whey, butter milk, and sour gruel is mentioned in the medical works.² After this liquid, betel leaves, with some fragrant spices, were taken as it was believed that it helped digestion, removed the phlegm and made the mouth fragrant.³ The practice of betel chewing was so common that it is mentioned in the Kāmasūtra in the account of the citizen.⁴ In the Harṣacarita we read that Sudṛṣṭi had his lips red with betel leaves.⁵ King Śudraka also used to chew betel leaves after his midday

¹ Itsing, pp. 39-40.

² भ्रनपानं हिमं वारि यवगोधमयोहितम् ।४६
दण्डि मध्ये विषे कीर्दे कोणं पिष्टमयेषुतु ।
शाकमुद्गादि विकृती मस्तुतकाम्ल काव्यजकम् ।

Ast. Hr. Su. VIII. 47-48.

³ Betel leaves are mentioned in the Raghu VI. 64 and betel nuts in Raghu XIII. 17.

ताम्बूलं कटु सक्तारं हृच्यमध्या कफप्रणुत् ।८३
भेदि संमोहकूतं पूर्णं कथाय स्वादुरोचकम् ।
जातिपत्री कटुफलं कङ्कोलकं लवज्जकम् ।८४
लघु तृष्णापहं हृद्यं वक्त्रं लुर्गन्धनाशनम् ।
सस्वादु तिकलस्तृष्णाच्चनः कर्मूरश्छेदनोहिमः ।८५

Ast. Hr. XII. 83-85.

कामंप्रदीपयति रूपमभिव्यनविति सौभाग्यमावहृतिवक्त्रसुगन्धिताच्च
ऊर्जं करोति कफजांश्च निहन्तिरोगांस्ताम्बूलमेवमपराईच गुणान्करोति ।
युक्तेन चर्णेन करोति रागं रागं क्षयं पूर्णफलतिरिक्तम्
चूर्णाधिकं वक्त्रविवन्धकादि पवाधिकम् साषु करोतिगन्धम् ।
पत्राधिकम् निशिहृतं सफलंदिवाच प्रोक्तान्यथाकरणमस्यविडम्बनैव
कफकोलं पूर्णलवली कफपारिजातेरामोदितं मदमुदामुदितं करोति ।

Bṛhatśāṁhitā 77. 35-37.

C.f. Itsing IX. 39.

दीयते गणिका कामुकयोः सकर्पूरं ताम्बूलम् ।

Mṛcchakaṭika IV.

Some fragrant spices such as comphor and cloves were also taken after meals to make the mouth fragrant (Harṣacarita, p. 21).

⁴ गृहीतमुखवासताम्बूलः

Kamasutra I. 4.5.

⁵ Harṣacarita, p. 85.

meal.¹ Yuan Chwang received one hundred and twenty betel leaves and twenty betel nuts daily as part of his ration.² The practice of smoking a cigar prepared with fragrant substances is also mentioned.³ After the meals the rich avoided hard work⁴ and indulged in such enjoyments as listening to the conversation of parrots or *sārikās*, seeing the fights between quails, cocks or rams, or the shows of acrobats and clowns. Sometimes they also slept during the day.⁵

Children used to take some breakfast in the morning.⁶ The newly married couple were as before expected to avoid saline preparations.⁷ The Buddhist monks did not drink intoxicating drinks and avoided taking meals at forbidden hours.⁸ Their breakfast generally consisted of rice water, their lunch of rice, butter milk, fruits and sweet melons and they were permitted to have a light evening meal.⁹ Fahien also states that liquid food was permitted to monks at irregular hours.¹⁰ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* lays down that an ascetic should not be fond of taking only one

¹ परिपीलशूपशूमवर्तिरुपस्थृत्य च गृहीत ताम्बूलः।

Kadambari Para. 15.

² Beal Si-yu-ki.

³ See f. n. 1 above.

मृदुषीत शूपिताम्बर ग्राह्यं मण्डनञ्च विभ्राणा।

परिपीलशूमवर्तिः स्थास्पति रमणान्तिके सुतन्।

Kuṭṭanimatam.

कर्पूरागुह चन्दनमूस्ता पूति प्रियंगवालं च

मांसी चेति नृपाणां योद्धा रत्नाकृष्णमवर्तिः।

Nagara Sarvasva.

Quoted by Dr. V.S. Agrawal in his 'Kādambari Eka Sāṃskṛtika Adhyayana' p. 32, Chap. 15.

Caraka's reference to the preparation of the cigar (vide F.D.A.I. p. 163, f. n. 3) and the above quotations make it clear that it was a common practice among the rich.

⁴ See F.D.A.I. p. 195, f. n. 7.

⁵ भोजनान्तरं शुक्र सारिका प्रसंपनव्यापाराः। लावकंकुमकुटमेष्युद्धानि तास्तास्त
कंलाकीडाः। पीठमद्वं दिट विद्युषकायत्ता व्यापाराः।

Kamasutra, I. 4.8.

⁶ दारकाणां पूर्वभाविकाम् अनुप्रयच्छति।

Divyavadana, p. 30, 20.

⁷ संगतयो हित्रात्रमधः लाव्या ऋत्यर्थं क्षारलवण वर्जमाहारस्तथा सप्ताहैं सतूर्यमङ्गल-
स्तानम् प्रसाधनम् तहभोजनम्.....।

Kamasutra, 191. 1.

⁸ Itsing, Chapter X.

⁹ Itsing, pp. 26, 44, 117.

¹⁰ Legge—Fahien p. 44.

foodgrain nor should he take honey, meat and salt. He should not accept uncooked food.¹

A taboo against the use of certain vegetables such as onions and garlic is found even in this period.² The Purāṇas declare that *masūra*, linseed, *nispāva*, *rājamaṣa*, *kusumbbhika*, *kodrava*, *udāra*, gram, *kapitttha* and *madbhuka*, should not be used as articles of food.³ The Kātyāyana Smṛti lays down that vegetables, meat, *masūra*, gram, *koradūṣaka*, honey, some alkalies and sea-salt should not be used as food on the day of a fast.⁴ Generally rice boiled with *guda*, clarified butter, curds or rice alone were regarded as proper articles of food on the day of a fast.⁵

It appears that feasts were common during this period. In the friendly parties people enjoyed various kinds of intoxicating drinks, saline preparations, fruits, vegetables, sauces and condiments.⁶ At the time of the ceremony of laying the foundation of a house Brāhmaṇas were fed with clarified butter and milk rice and masters of dramatic art with rice cooked with *guda*.⁷ In the royal households the food was as before, examined to see whether it contained any poisonous substance before it was served.⁸ Fahien states that the kings of the states near Mathura

¹ अकामादपि हिसेत यदि भिक्षुः पशून् मृगान्।
कुच्छाति कुच्छु त्रुवीति चान्त्रायणमथापिदा। १६।
एकान्त्रं मधुमासं वा हातम् आदृ तथैव च।
अभोज्यानि यतीनां च प्रत्यक्षलवणानि च। १७।

Vayu. Pu. XVIII. 16, 20.

² Kurma Pu. Pt. II. Ch. XVII.

³ Matsya Pu. XV., Padma. Pu. Śāṣṭi. IX. 62-66.

⁴ शाकं मांसं मसूरञ्जनं चणकं कोरखपकान्
मापान् मघुवरान्नञ्च वर्जयेदोपवस्थयके।
सज्जीशारं यवकारं टक्कणकारमेव च।
ब्रह्मस्थोवर्जयेचित्तर्य सामुद्रं लवणं तथा।

Katyayana Sm. 27.

⁵ गुडोदनं घृतं दधि तण्डुला श्रार्येणात्तव्यं रसायनं सर्वं भस्तीति।

Mrcchakatika. Act. I. p. 14.

⁶ तत्रमधुमेत्रेयं सुरासवान् विविधलवणं कलहरित शाकतिक्तं कटुकाम्लोपदंशान् वेश्याः पाययेषु रनुपिवेयुवच।

Kamasutra. I. 4.23.

⁷ Bharata. II. 41-42.

⁸ विरज्जति चकोरस्य दूषिः पर्यवसत्तमः।
विकृतिः च स्वरो याति कोकिलस्य तथा नप।
मतिः सखलति हंसस्य भृज्ञराजनच्च कूर्जति।
क्रौञ्चो मदमथाम्बेति कुकवाकु विरौति च।

Matsya. 219. 18-20.

used to take off their caps when serving food with their own hands to a community of monks and they sat on a carpet on the ground and not on couches.¹ In the Śrāddha feasts sesamum, meat of many animals, clarified butter, milk honey, sugarcane, juices of fruits such as mango, grapes and pomegranate, food grains such as śyāmāka, sāli, nīvāra, mudga and barley were used while masūra, nīspāva, rājamāṣa, safflower, lotus, Bilva, kodrava, udāra, gram, kapittha, linseed, milk of goats and sheep, some spices and vegetables were avoided.² The same food was served to all and all the relatives and servants were fed in such feasts.³ Poor people were permitted to perform these rites with fruits, roots, sesamum and water.⁴ Gift of uncooked food is

भोजवन्नं परीक्षार्थं प्रदद्यात् पूर्वमनये।
बयोन्म्बद्धं ततो दद्यात् तत्रलिङ्गानि लक्षयेत्।

Kamandaka. VII. 15.

¹ Legge—Fahien. Ch. XVI.

² व्रीहिभिश्चयवैमधिरद्धिसूजि फलेन वा।
स्यामाकैश्च यदैः काशीनीवारेश्च प्रियज्ञुभिः।
गोधूमैश्चतिलैमृद्गंगमसिं प्रीणयते पितॄन्।
आभान् पानेरतानिक्षात् मृद्गीकौश्च सदाविमान्।
विदाश्वर्वाश्च कुरुपट्टेश्चत्राद्वकाणि प्रदापयेत्।
लाजा भद्रुयुता दद्यात्सन्तून् शर्करमासह।

पिण्डली हृषकञ्जीव तथा चैव मसूरकम्।
कूष्माण्डालाबु चाताकि तनुलीयकमेव च।
कुसुमम् पिण्डमूलं वै तनुलीयक मेव च।
राजमायांस्तथाकीर्त माहिषाजं विवर्जयेत्।
आडकयःकोविदाराश्च पालकया मरिचांस्तथा।
वर्जयेत्सप्तयनेन आद्वकाणे द्विजोत्तम।

Kurma. XX.

Markandeya Pu. 29 9-11., Visnu. Pu. III. 16 C.f. Matsya Pu. XV. also XVII, Vayu. Pu. Ch. 78, 8-48 and Ch. 83, 3-9.

³ न पद्मत्या विषमं दद्यान्नयाचेत् न दापयेत्
भृङ्गीरसतः श्रेष्ठं न ब्रूयुः प्राङ्गतान्मुणान्
शातिष्वपि चंतुष्वपु स्वान्मृत्यान् भोजयेत्ततः।
पश्चात् स्वर्वचपत्नीभिः शेषमन्नं समाचरेत्।

Kurma. XXII.

C.f. Matsya. XVIII. 57.62.

⁴ अपि मूर्खैर्लैवपि प्रकुर्यान्निर्धनोद्विजः।
तिलौदकैस्तपर्यित्वा पितॄन् स्नात्वा समाहितः।

Kurma. XXII.

permitted by a Sūdra.¹ Generally vessels made of gold, silver, or copper were used in a Srāddha by the rich.²

We can also form some idea of the food habits of the people during the period. The inhabitants of the east were mainly rice³ and fish eaters.⁴ They were fond of drinking *swād*,⁵ and alkaline substances suited them.⁶

The staple food grain of the people in the north was wheat,⁷ and women there drank liquors.⁸ The inhabitants of the south enjoyed boiled rice with tamarind.⁹ In the deserts the food of the people consisted of milk, curds and fruit of *karīra* tree. In Sindh fish was much eaten, in the *Aśmaka* country, oils and acidic substances, and in the Malaya region roots and tubers. The people of Konkaṇa were fond of fruit juices and the mountaineers of groats. The staple food of the inhabitants of Avanti was wheat, of the Bālhika region meat roasted on spits with sour gruel and roasted meat, wheat and grapes were the favourite food articles of the Greeks and Scythians.¹⁰ In Jhang and Montgomery districts (*Uśinara*) people were fond of drinking milk, while in *Gandhāra* people drank decoctions of various kinds.¹¹

There were certain people who lived in their homes but led the life of recluses. They did not join community feasts. Some did not take food offered even by the three higher castes.

¹ एवं शूद्रोपि सामान्य वृद्धि आदेष्पि सर्वंदा।
नभस्कारेण मन्त्रेण कुर्यादामान्नतः खदा।

Matsya. Ch. 17, 70.

² सौवर्णं राजतं लाङ्गं पितॄणां पात्रमुच्यते।
राजतं राजताक्तं वा पितॄणां पात्रमुच्यते।

Vayu. 74 1.

³ Itsing. p. 43.

⁴ Bṛhaspati Sm. II. 10.

⁵ Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.

⁶ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234.

⁷ Itsing p. 45.

⁸ Bṛhaspati Sm.I. 129. F.D.A.I. p. 176 f. n. 7.

⁹ Dasakumaracarita. VI.

¹⁰ Ast. Sam. Su. VII. 232-234, Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VII. 4.9.

Aśmaka—the region between the Godavari and Mahishmati on the Narmada.

¹¹ Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini VIII. 4.9.

कीरपानाः उशीनराः।

They probably cooked their own food.¹ It shows that restrictions about interdining were sufficiently rigid in this period.

Modakas were offered to the preceptor on the day of initiation of a pupil.² All guests such as teachers, pupils, disciples, strangers and friends were offered clarified butter, honey, sugar or one of the eight kinds of syrups which were allowed by the Buddha.³ Certain rules of etiquette were observed in the dinners of foreigners.⁴

In Kumarila's time Brāhmaṇa women in Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar in Bareilly district) and Mathurā drank wine, the Brāhmaṇas of the north ate from the same plate with their wives, children and friends. Brāhmaṇas of the south took their meal sitting on couches, Brāhmaṇas both in the north and the south had no objection to taking cooked food that remained in pots after their friends and relatives had partaken of it. They had no objection to taking betel leaves touched by persons of all castes and many of them did not sip water after taking their meals.⁵ Food obtained by begging was considered as unwelcome as death itself while that obtained without begging was regarded as nourishing as nectar.⁶

To sum up the period under review was an era of great prosperity. It resulted in the further enriching of varieties of dishes. Some new preparations of wheat and a stuffing prepared with *mudga* were used. A considerable section of Hindu society had accepted vegetarianism as the normal way of life. Some of the Purāṇas prescribe vegetarian dishes even in a Srāddha where meat was obligatory before. But the Kṣatriyas relished meat dishes. A tasty meat soup called *Dakatāvapika* was prepared. In some regions where civilization was not much advanced, such as in the Vindhya, people were mostly non-vegetarians.

On account of intercourse with foreigners and general prosperity the moral standards had gone down considerably even

¹ विवर्जितजनपद्धतयः।
वर्णन्नय व्यावृत्ति विशुद्धांशसः।

Harṣacarita. p. 39.

² Malavika. p. 81.

³ Takkusu—Itsing (1896) p. 125.

⁴ Ibid. Ch. XXXI and XXXV.

⁵ Tantravārtika.

⁶ Amar. Vaiśya. 3.

in the Madhyadeśa. The rich indulged in drinking. Even respectable women considered drinking wines a necessary embellishment. But the Brāhmaṇas generally drank syrups. Betel chewing was common. Some articles such as gram, and *masūra* were still considered exotic and onions and garlic were avoided by respectable persons.

CHAPTER VII
FOOD AND DRINKS
(C. 750 To C. 1200 A.D.)

We get some information about food and drinks from Sanskrit and Prākṛta works which were written during the period C. 750 to C. 1200 A.D. Some of the Purāṇas and the Smṛtis which were written during this period also enable us to form an idea about the food habits of the people. But a detailed account of the dishes used during the period is to be found in the Mānasollāsa. It describes the various beverages used and narrates vividly the method of preparation of a number of vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes which were used in the royal households.

CEREALS AND PULSES

The works of this period mention all the food grains used in the earlier period.¹ A dish of hot fragrant rice, the grains of which were unbroken and separate from each other was eaten with great relish.² Rice cooked in the milk of a buffalo was also very popular.³ We come across some new preparations of wheat

¹ Kṣīrasvāmin mentions the following food grains:—

Vribhi, jaya, masūra, godbhāma, mudga, māṣa, tila, cañaka, aṇu, priyaṅgu, kadrava, makuffha, sāḥi, āḍbaki, kuṭaya, kuṭatiba and saṇa.

C.f. Vijñaneśvara on Yaj., Garuḍa. VIII. 48.

The Śukranīti lays down that grains which are well developed, bright, best of the species, dry, new, good in colour, smell and taste should be stored by the king to meet the needs of the country for three years.

IV. 2. 27-29.

² Cooked rice.

अमीलसद्वाष्पमस्तिष्ठतास्तिलम् वियुक्तमन्योन्यमयुक्तमार्द्धम्

रसोत्तरं गौरमपीवरं रसाद्वभुञ्जतामोदनमोदनं जनाः।

Naisadha XVI. 68.

³ इथामाक कङ्गमीवार गन्धसालि सूतप्पूतैः १३७३।

सरवेष्ठित सैवाकैविवरै सधुविस्तृतैः ।

चिरप्रसूतमहिषीपयसा पायसं पचेत् ।

such as *kasāra*¹ and *subālis*.² The latter were cakes of wheat flour fried in clarified butter and coated with sugar. If these cakes were not sufficiently hard they were called *Pābalikā*.³ The preparation of cakes of wheat flour has been described in detail in the *Mānasollāsa*. They are called *polikās* or *maṇḍakas*.⁴ Thread like preparation of wheat flour were called *sevikās*⁵ and thin round cakes of fine wheat flour placed one over the other before frying in oil were called *Patrikās*.⁶

¹ The Dhanvantari Nighantu calls wheat in this period the food of the Yavanas, but it is now extensively used.

Kasāra—

गुणवाचार्या लङ्घुश्च सीरखन्ना कसारं सुतारं मुहालीमण्डज्जा।

Bhavi. XII. 3.

² तैलपूर्णकटाहेतुसुतपते सोहलांपचेत् उत्तानपाळ संसिद्धाः कठिना सोहलाः मत्ताः।
Manas. XIII. 1384.

See f. n. 1 above.

Bhavi. XII. 3.

³ *Pābalikā*

तैल मग्ना: मृद्य: पाहलिका: स्मृताः।

Manas. XIII. 1385.

⁴ *Māndakas*—Wheat was washed, dried in the sun, ground, and cleaned in a sieve. The flour was mixed with clarified butter and salt and made into balls. The balls were turned into cakes with the palms of hands and were cooked in a pot-sherd. They were baked on live charcoals before eating. Sometimes a wooden roller and a piece of stone were used to change the balls into circular cakes before baking.

गोधूमाः कालिता शुभ्राः शोषिता रविरसिमभिः ।७५

घट्टैश्चूणिताःश्लक्षावचालन्या विशुषीकृताः ।

गोधूमचूर्णकं श्लक्षं किञ्चित्प्रथम विशिष्टितम् ।७६

लब्धेन च संयुक्तं द्वीर नैरेणपिण्डितम् ।

सुभहृत्यां काष्ठपात्राण्यां करस्फालैविमर्दयेत् ।७७

मदितं चिक्कलीभूतं गोलकान् परिकल्पयेत् ।

स्नेहाम्भक्तौ करतलैः शालिचूर्णवृक्षितान् ।७८

प्रसारयेत् गोलवास्तान् करसञ्चारवर्तनैः ।

विस्तुतामण्डकाःश्लक्षाः सितपड्डसमप्रभाः ।७९

प्रयत्नान्निक्षिपेत्तज्ज्ञास्तपात्पर्यमस्तके ।

पक्वादचापनयेच्छीं यावत्काल्यं न जायते ।

चतुर्भूश्च चतुर्भूश्च विटिता भण्डका वराः ।

गोलान् प्रसारितान् पाणावज्ज्ञारेषु विनिक्षिपेत् ।

Manas. III. 1375-81.

पदःस्मितामण्डक भण्डनाम्भरा बटाननेन्दुः पृथुलङ्घुकस्तनी ।

पदं रुचेभूज्यभुजां भुजि तिथा, प्रियावभूवोज्जवल कुरहारिणी ।

Naisadha. XVI. 107.

⁵ *Sevikā*—Kathā Koṣaprakarana, Śālibhadra Kathā. p. 58, Vilāsavati.

⁶ तनु प्रसारितानोसान् ताप्यां स्नेहेन पाचितान् ।८५।

उपर्युपरिनिक्षिप्ताः पत्रिकाविपचेत् सुषीः ।८६।

Manas. III. 1385-86.

Gram now seems to have become a favourite food as its use is recommended by Someśvara in many vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes.¹ *Vidalapāka* was prepared with the pulse of gram, *rājamāṣa*, *masūra* or *rājamudga* mixed with slightly parched *āḍbaki* pulse of which the outer covering was removed with a grinding stone and a winnowing basket. The mixture was cooked on slow fire. Water mixed with asafoetida, turmeric and rock salt was added to it.² A soup prepared with *mudga*, asafoetida, pieces of ginger, pieces of lotus stalks fried in oil or the seeds of *Priyāla* is also mentioned. Sometimes pieces of brinjal fried in oil or the pieces of meat of a sheep or jackal or the pieces of the marrow of an animal were also cooked with it. Some spices such as powder of black pepper, and dry ginger were mixed in the end.³ *Vatakas* prepared with *māṣa* flour, fried in clarified butter

¹ Split green grams are also mentioned in the preparation of food articles in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varagupta Pāṇḍya of the ninth century A.D.

Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX. p. 92

* चणका राजमाधाश्च मसूरा राजमुदणकाः ।
शरहृदैलिता कार्यः पाकार्थं हि विक्षणीः ।
किञ्चन्द्रभ्रष्टास्तथाढक्यो यन्नावर्तं द्विभाग्नताः ।
विदली च कृताः सम्यक् शूर्पकैवितुयीकृताः । ६०।
स्थाल्या शीतोदकं शिष्ठवा विदलै सममानतः ।
आवपेदिदलान्पच्छाच्छुल्यामारोपयेत्तः । ६१।
मृद्गिनपच्यमानेऽन्तं हिणुतोयं विनिक्षिपेत् ।
वजार्थं रजनीचूर्णमीषन्तव नियोजयेत् । ६२।
मुहूर्मुहूर्क्षिपेत्तोयं यावलाकस्य पूर्णता ।
मुशलक्षणं सैन्धवं कुत्तव्यादिक्षात्यंशेन निक्षिपेत् । ६३।

Manas. III. 1559-63.

² प्रक्षालितान् वरान् मुदगान् समतोये विनिक्षिपेत् । ६४।
भुल्यां मृद्गिननापकः कर्तव्यः सूपकारकः ।
पच्यमानेषु मुदगेषु हिङ्गवारिविनिक्षिपेत् । ६५।
आद्रेकस्य च खण्डानि सूक्षमाणै च विनिक्षिपेत् ।
वातार्का पाटितं सैले भूष्टं तत्र विनिक्षिपेत् । ६६।
तैलभृष्टा मृद्गभृताः शिपेद् वा विसचक्रिकाः ।
बीजानि प्रियालस्य शिष्ठवादव्यादिवर्तयेत् । ६७।
.....
केचिदिच्छन्ति रुच्यर्थं मेषमांसस्य खण्डकान् । ६८।
दृक्कान् वापिद्विधामिश्नान् मेदसः शक्तानिवा ।

Manas. III. 1567-68.

Vataka—a kind of cake.

and dropped in milk were called *Kṣīravaṭa*.¹ A preparation of fermented fine flour of *māṣa* made into small circular balls was called *īdarikā*. It was fried in clarified butter, mixed with some spices such as black pepper and fumigated with asafoetida and cumin seeds.² Another preparation of *māṣa* flour was *Ghārikā*. These were round cakes with five or seven holes, fried in oil till their colour became red. When they had no holes they were called *Vatikas*. These *vatikas* were also dropped in sour gruel or churned curds with sugar. Sometimes sour gruel and well churned curds with some spices such as rock salt, ginger, coriander, cumin and black pepper were cooked to thick consistency and *vatikas* dropped into it. Some powder of black pepper was added to it and the mixture fumigated before use.³ For preparing *vatikas*, *māṣa* pulse was soaked in water, the outer covering

¹ अतहकृतं दीर्घवैस्तदशनताम् राज पाकापित गैरिकथिया।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 98.

Manasa. XIII. 1594.

दुधं मध्यक्षिणीमविसाधितैवटकालयैः।

Commentary Naiṣadha.

² See 'Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics', 'History of the Dishes, Idli and Dosa' by Dr. P.K. Gode in Dr. S.K. Chatterji Volume—1955.

अग्नीभूतम् माषपिठम् वटिकासु विनिश्चिपेत्।

बस्त्रगभीमिरन्याभिः पिधाय परिपाचयेत्। १३६६।

अवतायत्रि नरिचं चूणितं विकिरेदनु।

घृताकृतं हिंगुरापित्तम् जीरकेण च धूपयेत्। १४००।

सुशीता धबला इलक्षा एता इडरिका वरयाः।

Manas. III. 1399-1401.

C.f. Supāsanahacariyā, p. 485.

³ तस्यैवमाषपिठस्य बोलकान् विस्तृतान् घनान्। १।

पञ्चभिः सप्तभिवापि छिद्रेशच परिशोभितान्।

तप्ततैले पचेद् यावल्लैहित्यं तेषु जायते। २।

पारिका संज्ञावा र्घ्याता भक्षयेत् सुमनोहराः।

निच्छिद्राः धारिकाः पक्वा मध्यिते शार्करायुते। ३।

एलामरिचसंयुक्ते निशिप्ता वटकाभिधाः।

त एव वटकाः क्षिप्ताः काञ्चिकके काञ्जिकाभिधाः। ४।

यत्र यत्र द्रवद्रव्ये तप्तान्ता वटकास्तु है।

आरालेन सान्द्रेण दला सुमधितेन च।

सैन्धवार्द्धकधान्याकजीरकं च विभित्रयेत्।

मरिचानि द्रिष्टा कृत्वाक्षिपेत्तत्र तु पाकवित्।

दध्यां विषदृष्टवन् सवै पचेद् यावद् घनीभवेद्।

उत्तायै वटकान् क्षिप्त्वा विकिरेमरिचं रजः।

हिङ्गुना धूपयेत् सम्बग् वटकास्ते मनोभिधाः।

Manas. III. 1401-1418.

removed and the pulse ground on a piece of stone. Some spices were mixed in it and the mixture, after churning well with hands, was allowed to ferment for a few days. Then they were formed into small balls and dried. They were cooked whenever required.¹

In the preparation of the dish called *Kaṭakarṇa*, pulse of *vattāṅka* (pea) soaked in water was ground and fumigated with clarified butter after adding rock salt. The powder of *Nīspāva* was then mixed with it and the mixture made into round cakes which were fried in oil.² *Pūrikā* was a cake of gram flour fried in oil. Sometimes the pulse was boiled a little before grinding and some spicēs such as salt, black pepper, cardamom, asafoetida and sugar were mixed in the ground pulse before frying.³ *Vesṭikā* was a preparation of gram pulse mixed with some spices covered with fine wheat flour and cooked in a pot-sherd. Sometimes ground *māṣa* and *mudga* pulses were used instead of gram pulse.⁴ *Dhosakas* are also prepared with the same ingredients

¹ माषस्य विदलान् किलशान् निस्तुयान् हस्तलोडनैः ।१७।

ततः सम्प्रेष्य पेषण्यां संभारेण विमिश्चितान् ।

स्थाल्यां विमर्च्य बहुशः स्थापयेतदा हस्ततः ।१८।

अम्लीभूतं माषपिण्ठं वटिकासु विनिक्षिपेत् ।

Manas. III. 1397-99.

² वट्टाङकस्य विदलं च विदलं चणकस्य च ।१३६४।

चूषितं वारिणा सार्वं संपिण्या परिभावितम् ।

संत्वयेन च संयुक्तं कञ्जना परिष्ठ्रितम् ।१३६५।

निष्पावचूर्णसंयुक्तं पेषण्यां च प्रसारितम् ।

फटाहे तैलसंपूर्णे कटकणान् प्रपापयेत् ।१३६६।

मावदबुद्बुदं संकाशा भवन्ति कनकत्विषयः ।

Manas. III. 1394-97.

³ उत्तवाष्य विदलान् पिष्ट्वा चणकप्रभूतीन् शुभान् ।

हिञ्चु सैन्धवसंयुतान् शकरापरिमिश्चितान् ।

मरिचेत्तालिविचूर्णेन युक्तान् गोलकवेष्टितान् ।

किञ्चिच्चत् प्रसारिते तेले पूरिका विषयेच्छुभाः ।

एवं ताप्यां पचेदन्याः पूरिकाश्च विचक्षणाः ।

Manas. III. 1388-90.

⁴ हरिमन्यस्य विदलं हिञ्चुजीरकमिश्चितम् ।

लवणेन च संयुक्तमाद्येकेण समन्वितम् ।

वेष्टयित्वा गोलकेत वेष्टिका स्वर्पे पचेत् ।

Manas. III. 1391-92.

गोधूमं चूर्णघनवेष्टित माषमुद्दग ।

पिष्टं सुपक्षमिति वेष्टनिका वदन्ति ।

Susepa. 31.

as *vestikā*.¹

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Milk was now used in various forms. When half the quantity was evaporated it was drunk. In case it was reduced to one third of the original quantity it became a dish that could be licked. When one sixth of the original quantity remained it was used for preparing sweets and when only one eighth remained it was called *Sarkard*.² Milk was also used in the preparation of some sweets such as *ksīraprakāra*, *ksīravāta* and *ksīrayastikā* of which we read for the first time.³ Curds prepared from the milk of those buffaloes, whose calves were fully grown up were regarded as very tasty.⁴ Curds were given different names according to the quantity of water mixed.⁵ Curds churned and mixed with sugar and fumigated with camphor were also used.⁶

Whey was taken with rock salt and some spices such as cumin

¹ विदलं चणकस्येवं पूर्वत्तमारसस्फुलम् ।६२।
ताप्यां तैः विलिप्तायां धोसकान् विपचेद्वृथः ।
भाषरस्य राजमाषस्य वट्टाशस्य च धोसकान् ।६३।
अनेनैव प्रकारेण विपचेत् पाकतत्ववित् ।

Manas. III. 1392-94.

It was the same preparation as we call *Dose* now. See reference to *Idly* above.

² अधविशिष्टं पाने स्यात् निभागं लेहाकम् ।
षड्भागं पिण्डतामेति शक्तिरा स्यादधाष्टमे ।

Manas. III. 1567.

A variety of scenes common in a dairy farm in this period are described in the *Yaśastilaka* (p. 184).

³ गुड्डोदनं पायसं च हृविष्यं क्षीरयठिकम् ।
दध्योदनं हृविः पूपान्मासं चित्रान्नमेव च ।

Agni. Pu. 163. 10.

⁴ हृपद्विष्टुष्टकयणीयः सुतं सुधाहवान् पञ्चमिवोदृतं दधि ।
Naisadha. XVI. 93.

⁵ *Matbita* were curds churned without water, *udasvit* curds with equal quantity of water and *takera* with water one fourth of the quantity of curds.

निजें नयितं प्रोक्तमुदस्त्वित्याश्चजलार्धकम् ।
पादाम्बु तकमुदिष्टं धूपितं हिङ्गुजीरकः ।
आद्रकेण समायुक्तमेलासैन्धवचूर्णितम् ।

Manas. III. 1571-72.

⁶ मयितं शक्तरायुक्तमेलाचूर्णविमिश्रितम् ।
कर्पूरचूपितानामा मज्जिकेत्यनिधीयते ।

Manas. III. 1573.

and ginger.¹ But *Rasālā* continued to be the most popular preparation of curds.² *Temana* was a soup of curds.³ A special preparation of curds with black mustard was much liked.⁴ Butter was clarified with wheat and betel leaves before being used in cooking and frying food articles.⁵ Somadeva also describes the properties of clarified butter, curds, butter and milk.⁶

MEAT DIET

Along with vegetarian dishes meat preparations were quite popular. The Purāṇas prescribe the meat of clean animals for feeding Brāhmaṇas in a Śrāddha.⁷ Brāhmaṇas relished the flesh

¹ सावितं यद्युतं तोर्यं जीरकार्बकसैन्धवं ।
संयुक्तं हिङ् भूपेन भूषितं मस्तु कीर्तिम् ।

Manas. III. 1575.

² निशीद्य वधिवस्त्रेण लावयेतदगतं जलम् ।
शक्तरैलासमायुक्ता सूर्यः शिखरिणी महा ।

Manas. III. 1574.

C.f. Bhavisayatta XX., Kav. Mim. XVIII. p. 107.

³ कसायं द्विलातीवणातिकलसारा गुडेणपिगाडा जईणपियारा ।
Bhavisayatta, XII.

⁴ त राजिकाराद्धमभोजि तत्रकैर्मुखेन सीत्कार कुतादधवद्वधि ।
भूतोत्तमाञ्जी कटुभावपाटवादकाष्ठकापूषितमूर्धंतानुभिः ।

Naisadha XVI. 73.

⁵ नवनीतं नवंधीतं नीरलेपविविजितम् ।
तापयेदनिना सम्यक् मुकुनाधूत भाण्डके ।
पाके सम्पूर्णतां याते क्षिपेद् गोषुमबीजकम् ।
दिपेताम्बूलपत्रं च पश्चादुत्तारयद्वृत्तम् ।

Manas. III. 1577.

⁶ Yaśastilaka III. 360-63.

⁷ हृव्यकव्यनियुक्तो तु भक्षी पाठीन रोहिती ।
मांसाचिभिस्त्वभीभव्याः शश शलक कच्छपाः । १४।
स्वाविद् गोथो प्रशस्ते च जाताश्च मृगपक्षिणः ।
आद्युक्तामैः स्वर्गकामैस्त्वाच्यं भास्तं प्रयत्नतः । १५।
यज्ञार्थं पशुहिंसा या सा स्वर्णी नेतरा वविचित् ।

प्राणात्यये ज्ञातौ आद्ये भेषजे विप्रकाम्यया ।
प्रलीलयभिस्त्वं पललं भक्षयन्नैव दोषभाव् । १६।
मखार्थं ब्रह्मणा सूष्टाः पशुद्वममृगीवधीः ।
निष्ठन्नहिस्को विप्रस्तासामपि शुभागतिः । १७।
पितृदेवकतुकृते मधुपकार्यमेव च ।
तत्र हिंसाप्यहिंसास्याद्विसान्वयत्तमुद्दरा ।

Skanda. Pu. Kāśī. 4. 14-20.

C.f. Agni Pu. 163. 1-32, 168. 20-21, Padma Pu. Adi. 56. 40-4.

of buffaloes and took dressed fish.¹ The Kṣatriyas enjoyed eating meat preparations such as dressed fish, roasted sheep.² Sometimes meat was so dressed that it resembled the shape of a *Bimba* fruit.³ Fragrant and tasteful curries of fish, venison, birds and flesh of goats were very much liked.⁴ In the cold season people relished eating pork along with newly husked rice while the essence of deer and quails is mentioned among the dainties used in the summer season.⁵

Many animals such as sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceros, buffaloes, fish, birds, sparrows, ring doves, francolin doves, peacocks and pigs were killed for food.⁶ People generally abstained from the meat of cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales and all kinds of eggs.⁷ But in times of scarcity even the flesh of forbidden animals was used for food.⁸ Someśvara describes in detail how meat should be dressed and flesh of which part of the body should be used and of which part avoided. The method of removing the hair of a pig is also described.⁹ He describes in detail the method of preparing a number of meat dishes. *Suptbakas* were prepared from the body of a pig roasted on fire. After roasting, the body was cut into pieces and the pieces again roasted on charcoals.

¹ Samaraiccakahā pp. 258, 260, 475.

² Ibid. pp. 258, 262.

Kumārapāla was much addicted to flesh eating in his youth and during his wanderings he chiefly maintained himself on flesh.

बालता उवितुहृदैव निष्पमच्यते वल्लहोमहर्ण्ये ।

महसाहिज्जेण तथा क्याइदेसं तराइतए ।

Moharājaparājaya.

³ इतीरिणे बिम्बफलं पलञ्चलाददायिविम्बाधरयारुच्यतत् ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 95.

⁴ व्यधुस्तमां ते मृगमांससाधितं रसादशित्वा मृदुतेमनं मनः ।

निशाधबोत्सङ्कुरङ्गजैरदः पलैः सपीयूषजलैः किमश्चपि ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 76.

अराधि यन्मीनमृगाजपत्रिजैः पलैमृदुस्वादु सुगन्धितेमनम् ।

Naiṣadha XVI. 87.

⁵ सहकाररसाचिता रसाला जलभक्तं फलपाकानिमन्थाः ।

मृगलावरसाः सूतं च दुर्घं स्मर सञ्जीवनमीयधंनिदावे ।

Kav. Mim. XVIII. 107.

⁶ Al Masudi.

⁷ Al Beruni Ch. 68.

⁸ Kathāsaritsāgara. III. 9-10.

⁹ Mānasollāsa. III. 15. 43-47.

They were eaten with rock salt and black pepper.¹ Sometimes a broth was also prepared with *Suptakas*. The broth was fumigated with aromatic spices.² *Suptakas* were sometimes cut into pieces resembling palm leaves. These pieces were dropped into curds mixed with sugar and some aromatic spices were added. Pulp of citron was also mixed with *suptakas* and they were eaten after fumigation. In this form they were known as *Cakkalikā*.³ Sometimes green gram was pounded with spices. The whole thing was fried after mixing with good pieces of flesh. Tender *Nispāva*, berries, pieces of onions and garlic were mixed with the fried mixture. The whole thing was dropped in some sour juice and fumigated before eating.⁴ Flesh of sheep, carved into the

¹ आजानु सन्धि मूलाद्विघतृणः प्रच्छाच्य तं दहेत् । ३०।
 कठिनत्वमुपायात शाकयेविर्यंतैः जलैः।
 पाष्ठुरे विसकृताण्यं संस्थापितं कटे । ३१।
 आभधै प्रस्थापयति कर्विकापरिपाटितम् ।
 सारीफलकरेखाभ्यापित्तवच्छतस्यायाम् शुष्ठकान् । ३२।
 चतुरस्त्रीकृतान्कण्डान् शूलप्रोतान् प्रतापयेत् ।
 अङ्गारेषु प्रभेतेषु षट् विन्दुलवावधिः । ३३।
 पश्चात्मरिच्चकण्ठे विकिरेत्संघवंततः ।
 अथवाम्लपरिस्वन्नान् पूर्ववत् परिकल्पयेत् । ३४।
 अथवा दारिलान्कृत्वात्वक् शूष्ठा नूलवचान्वितान् ।
 भूज्जेदङ्गारपुञ्जेषु शुष्ठकानमृतोपमान् । ३५।

Manas. III. 1430-35.

² प्रतिष्पृष्ठकांस्तत्र मृदुकुर्यच्च पाकतः ।
 भावितांश्चरसैः सर्वैः सिद्धान्तां रयेद् बृथः ।

Manas. III. 1447-48.

³ स्वन्नानां शुष्ठकानां च मेदोभारं प्रगृह्ण च ।
 लाडपत्रसमाकाराः कृत्वा चक्कलिकाः शाभाः । ३६।
 मधिते शक्तिरायुक्ते दधन्येलाविमित्रिते ।
 कर्तूरवासिते तत्र रुच्याश्चकलिकाः विषेत् । ३७।
 मांसमेदोभायानशुष्ठान् पूर्ववच्छकलीकृतान् ।
 मधिते राजिकायुक्ते मातुलिङ्गकेशरे । ३८।
 धूपिते हिङ्गुता सम्यक् धत्तिचक्कलिकाः विषेत् ।
 षट् वा चक्कलीभूष्टवा किरेदेला सशक्तिरम् । ३९।
 अथवा मातुलिङ्गस्य सुपवस्य च केसरैः ।
 सूक्ष्मे राद्रकलपैश्च केसराम्लैर्मनोहरैः । ४०।
 चणितं मरिचं राजिसंन्धवैभित्रयेत्ततः ।
 हिङ्गुना धूपिताः साम्ला हृद्याश्चक्कलिका वराः ।

Manas. III. 1456-41.

⁴ चणकस्य समान् खण्डान्कल्पयित्वा विचक्षणः ।
 निशा जीरकं तीक्ष्णाद्यशुष्ठीधान्यकं हिङ्गमिः । ४१।
 चूणितैर्मैलयित्वा तांस्त्राततैले विनिक्षिपेत् ।
 समानाद्रकलण्डाश्च चशकान् हरितानपि । ४०।

shape of plums mixed with some powdered spices and grams and fried in oil with the pieces of such vegetables as brinjal, radish, onions, ginger and sprouted *mudga* beans, was known as *Kavacandi*.¹ Pieces of clean meat chopped into the form of big *Āmalakas* were cooked with spices. This liquid preparation was again cooked with some acid fruits, *sunthakas*, spices and rock salt. It was then fumigated with spices such as garlic and asafoetida. This preparation was known as *Puryalā*.²

When pieces of clean meat, bored with some holes and filled with spices, were roasted on spits and some spices were mixed with them they were called *Bhaditraka*. Sometimes *Bhaditrakas* were dried after cooking and then fried in ghee.³ Flesh

इतिकथमासैः क्षिपेत्कोर्ल निष्पावान्कोभलानपि ।
पलाष्टुशक्तान्वापि लघुनंवाऽपि निकिपेत् ।५१।
एवं पूर्वोदितं सूदः प्रयुच्यजीत यथाश्चि ।
शोषितेभ्लरसे पश्चात् तिद्वनुत्तायंधूपयेत् ।५२।

Manas. III. 1449-52.

¹ बदरशकारकान् खण्डान् पूर्वबच्चूण्मिश्रितान् ।
आद्रौकांस्तत् प्रमाणाद्य वक्तव्ये ते ।५३।
वालकिशकतांश्चैव मूलकस्य च खण्डकान् ।
पलाष्टवाद्वाद्वक सम्भूतान् मुदगाङ्कुर विनिमितान् ।५४।
वटकाञ्जिपेतत्र मेषकस्य च चूर्णकम् ।
कासमर्वेन संयुक्तं पलान्यन्यानि कानिचित् ।५५।
सुसिद्धं वासयेद्गैरिनारसविमिश्रितम् ।
ग्रामाद्व्यसमेता सा कवचन्दी भवेच्छुभा ।५६।

Manas. III. 1453-56.

² स्थूलामलकसङ्कुशान् शुद्धमासस्य खण्डकान् ।
कवायद्विजिका तोर्यनागिराद्रौकसंयते ।५७।
आस्थापयेत्तज्जलं पात्रे रिक्ते चाम्लैविपाचयेत् ।
तत्समाज्ञाप्तकान् शिष्टवा संन्धवं तत्रयोजयेत् ।५८।
मेषाकचणकं तत्र धान्याकस्य च पूलिकाम् ।
निधिप्योत्तारयेत्सूदो षुडं वास्त्रतापयेत् ।५९।
मुतप्ते च षुडं परचल्लपुनं हित्तुनासह ।
प्रशिष्य संस्कृतं मांसं तस्यां स्थाल्वां प्रवेशयेत् ।६०।
पिहितं च ततः कुरुते किञ्चित् कालं प्रतीक्ष्य च ।
उत्तारयेत्तः सिद्धं पुर्यलाल्पमिदंवरम् ।६१।

Manas. III. 1457-61.

³ पूष्ठवंशसमुद्भूतं शुद्धं मांसं प्रगृह्यते ।
घनसारप्रमाणानिङुत्वा खण्डानि मूलकैः ।६२।
विज्ञातु वहृशस्तानि वहृरुद्घाणि कारयेत् ।
हित्तुवाद्रौकसंयुक्तं संन्धवेन च पोषयेत् ।६३।
शुलप्रोतानिङुत्वा तान्वज्ञारेषु प्रतापयेत् ।६४।
घतेन सिञ्जेत् पापक्षो वारं वारं विवर्तयेत् ।६५।
सिद्धेषु मारिचं चूर्णं विकिरेत् संन्धवान्वितम् ।

of sheep dressed into the shape of betel nuts with some blood was known as *Kṛṣṇapāka*.¹ *Vatakas* of pasted meat prepared with roasted and spiced meat inside were called *Bhūṭikā*. Sometimes these *Vatakas* were covered with grains of rice and roasted and called *Kośāli*.² Sometimes fruits such as brinjal were filled with pasted meat and fried in oil.³ Pasted meat was also formed into the shape of balls and roasted on fire or fried in oil. Liver of an animal was also cooked with some spices and called *Pāñca-*

नाम्ना भट्टिकं रुच्यं लघुपथ्यं मनोहरम् ।६५।

शोपयित्वाद्रवं सर्वे घृतेन परिप्रज्ञयेत् ।

शिष्येच्च मरिचं भृष्टे सूदोहृष्टभट्टिके ।६६।

Manas. III. 1462-65.

¹ पूर्णीकलत्रमाणानि कृत्वा खण्डानि पूर्वचत् ।

संस्कृयत् पूर्वच्छूर्णैरस्मैश्च परिशाचयेत् ।७३।

स्तोकावशीषपाकेस्मिन् न्यस्तं रक्तं विनिक्षिपेत् ।

पूर्णे पाके समुत्तार्यं धूपयेद्धिष्ठूनीरकैः ।७४।

कर्मूरच्छूर्णकं तस्मिन् एलाजूर्णनं संयुतम् ।

विकिरेन्मरिचैर्युक्तं कृष्णपाकमिदं वरम् ।७५।

Manas. III. 1473-75.

² अज्ञारभृष्टकं मांसं शुद्धे पट्टे निधापयेत् ।

कर्तंर्या तिलशः कृत्वा मातुलिज्जस्य केलरैः ।७६।

आद्रैकैः केसरास्मैश्च गृजननेत्स्तु प्रमाणिकैः ।

जीर्णैमरिचैः पिष्टैः हिङ्गसैन्धवचूर्णकैः ।७७।

मिश्रयित्वा तु तन्मांसं हिङ्गधूपेन बासयेत् ।

आमं मांसं च पेषय्या हिङ्गुतोयेन सेचितम् ।७८।

चूर्णकृतं च यन्मांसं गोलकैस्तदृ विवेष्येत् ।

चूर्णगर्भैश्च वटकागृ ग्रजिपेदाणके शुभे ।८०।

ख्यातात्त्वे मांसवटका रुच्या दृश्या मनोहरा ।

त एव वटकास्तैलपक्ष्या: स्युर्भूषिकाभिधाः ।८१।

तदेव चूर्णितं मांसं कणिकापरिवेषितम् ।

अज्ञारेषु तथा भृष्टं कोशलीति निगच्छते ।८२।

Manas. III. 1476-1482.

³ वाताकिं वृन्तदेशस्य समीपे कृतस्त्रधकम् ।

निष्कासितेषु बीजेषु तेन मसिन पुरितम् ।८३।

तैलेन पाचितं किञ्चिदाणके परिपाचयेत् ।

पूरमट्टाकसंशं तस्वाचानुा परिपाचयेत् ।८४।

कोशातकीफलेष्येवं मूलकस्य च कन्दके ।

पूरिते चूर्णमासेन तत्त्वान्ना तु कव्यते ।८५।

Manas. III. 1483-1485.

*sarpī.*¹ *Sarpīkās* were also prepared with entrails.² The entrails of an animal filled with spices and marrow and roasted on charcoal were called *mandaliya*.³ Liver chopped in the shape of betel nuts and roasted on charcoals and fried with spices was also used by dropping these pieces into a solution of black mustard or curds.⁴ Dried and roasted meat such as seasoned fish, roasted tortoises, fried crabs and a tasty meat soup, all were used as food.⁵

¹ आमं भासं सुपिण्टं तु केसरादिविभित्रितम् ।
वटकीकृत्य तेलेन तप्तेन परिपाचयेत् ॥६६॥
आणके च किंपेत्तस्त्रस्तापयेद्वा विभावती ।
नाम्ना बट्टिमकं तत्तु त्रिप्रकारमुदीरितम् ॥६७॥
अन्त्राणि स्पष्टाः कृत्वा कालखण्डं तथाकृतम् ।
वाहिप्रकालितं कृत्वा सज्जितान् समरूपतः ॥६८॥
राजिकाकलदिग्धांसंतास्तोयभिक्षान् विपाचयेत् ।
.....
किञ्चिच्चच्छेयं इवं तत्तु समुत्तार्य विष्वूपयेत् ।
पञ्चवर्णीति विश्याता नानास्परसावहा ॥६९॥

Manas. III. 1486-1491.

² अन्त्राणि जलधीतानि शलयद्धया चिवेष्टयेत् ।
तापयेच्च तथाज्ञारैर्यावत् कठिनतां यवुः ॥१४६२॥
पश्चाद्विचूणितं इलक्षणं सैन्धवं तेजु योजयेत् ।
अन्त्रशुष्कनाम्भ्यात् चर्येण मर्मरारवद् ॥१४६३॥

Manas. III. 1492-93.

³ मेदसः इलक्षणखण्डानि किप्त्वा सर्वविलोदयेत् ॥६५॥
अन्त्रं प्रक्षालितं वयनातेन रसेन पुरितम् ।
पेटकाकृति युक्ता सुकाम्भासु परिवेष्टयेत् ॥६६॥
कम्ब्रामुखानि बध्नीयात् केवलैरुचकैस्तथा ।
तैरेव रजुसङ्कुर्षाण्यै हीत्वोपरि तापयेत् ॥६७॥
अज्ञाहैः किञ्चुकाकारैर्यावत् काठिन्यमानुयुः ।
मण्डलीयं समाख्याता राजवृक्षफलोपमा ॥६८॥

Manas. III. 1494-1498.

⁴ अज्ञारेषु तथाभृष्ट्वा कालखण्डं विकृत्य च ।
पुरोफलप्रमाणेन स्पष्टान् कृत्वा विचक्षणः ॥१५०२॥
तेलेनाभ्यञ्जय तान् सवर्णै भरिवाजाजिसैन्धवैः ।
चूणितेविकिरेत् पश्चाद्विगृह्यपौने धृपयेत् ॥३॥
अनेन विधिना भृष्ट्वा राजिकाकल्पलेपितान् ।
कालखण्डान् प्रकुर्वीत दद्धा राजिकायायवा ॥४॥

Manas. III. 1499-1504.

⁵ कोडदेशोद्भवं मासमस्या सह विष्विष्टितम् ।
असकीकरसंयुक्तं पार्श्वकुल्या समन्वितम् ॥७॥
.....
उत्कवाचितमिदं सुपूर्व्यात् शास्त्रविशारदैः ॥१५०६॥
मत्स्यादेच स्पष्टाः कृत्वा चतुर्ज्ञात्समिलान् ।
लब्धेन समायुक्तान् कुरुमेषु परिपूरयेत् ॥१५७॥

From the above account and description of the food habits of the Tāntrikas in the Yaśastilaka¹ and other contemporary works it is obvious that meat eating was common in certain sections of the society, specially, perhaps among the Kṣatriyas. But we find also large sections of society which had taken to vegetarianism partly on religious and partly perhaps also on hygienic grounds. Among such people even when an animal was to be sacrificed in a religious rite to propitiate a god it was replaced by the image of an animal made of flour.² Somadeva wonders how people who seek their own welfare hope to increase their own flesh with the flesh of others. Just as one's own life is dear to one, similarly the life of another is dear to him. One should, therefore, refrain from destroying animal life.³ According to him animals must not be killed for the purpose of worshipping gods or the manes, for entertaining one's guests, in any mystic rite or for medicinal purposes.⁴ Similar ideas are expressed by another Jain writer Amitagati who considers taking poison better than meat eating.⁵ Even some of the Purāṇas of this period lay down that slaughter of animals is not necessary for sacrifices

भौजनावसरे सूदो वहिना परिभर्जयेत् ।३४।
 कच्छयात् वहिना भृष्टवा पादाश्चलकांश्च मौखयेत् ।३५।
 अम्लकैश्च विषच्याथ तैलेन आज्ञेन वा पुनः ।
 पाचयेत्त शुस्तिदांस्ताम् चूर्णकैरवचूर्णयेत् ।३६।

Manas. III. 1507-1539.

Also see Manas. III. 1540-1542.

¹ Description of the temple of Caṇḍamāti known as Mahābhairava in Book I.

² Samaraicca Kahā, pp. 210-213.

Yaśastilaka Book IV. Caṇḍamāti persuades Yaśodharā to sacrifice a cock made out of flour.

³ तद् स्वस्य हितमिच्छन्तो मुञ्चन्त इच्छाहितं मुहुः ।

अन्यमांसैः स्वमांसस्य कथं चृद्धिविधायिनः ।

स्वकीयं जीवितं यद्यत् सर्वस्य प्राणिनः प्रियम् ।

तद्वदेतत्परस्पापि ततो हिसापरित्यजेत् ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 330.

⁴ देवतार्थं पित्र्यं मन्त्रीयथनयाय वा ।

न हिस्पात् प्राणिना सर्वान्हिसानाम् तद्वदतम् ।

Yaśastilaka p. 335.

⁵ वरं विदं न झिलमुग्रदोषं यवेकवारं कुरुतेऽमुनाशम् ।

मांसं महातुखमनेकवारम् ददाति जग्धम् भनसापि पुंसाम् ।

Subhāṣita Sandoha 21.16.

in the Kali age.¹ They prescribe the use of *māṣa* beans instead of meat preparations.² On the authority of Al Masudi we can say that the Brāhmaṇas generally avoided meat diet. Al. Idrisi states that the people of Anhilwārā ate rice, pea beans, *māṣa*, *masūra*, and fish and animals which had died a natural death because they did not kill birds and animals.³ Rājaśekhara mentions eating of pork among the practices of uncultured people.⁴ It is stated that king Kumārapāla prohibited slaughter of animals under severe penalties and he himself built Tribhuvanyihāra and thirty-two other temples for expiation of the sin of flesh eating to which he was addicted before his conversion to Jainism.⁵

HONEY AND SWEETS

Honey was not so widely used as in the previous period. The Purāṇas mention *gūḍa* (treacle) and raw sugar (*sarkarā*) and not honey among the sweet things.⁶ The Jains avoided the

परमारितजीवानां पिवितं योगि खादति ।
इहाभुजं च दुःखानां पद्धते सोऽपिभाजनम् ।
यैस्थिदध्यमंडुद्यैव भक्षयते स्वर्गकाम्यया ।
कालकूटं विषेनूनमधुस्ते जीविताधिनः ।

Upamitibhavaprapañca kathā, p. 627.

¹ नदद्यादामिषं शाद्वे न चादाद्वर्मत्तद्वित् ।
मूच्यन्तः स्पात्परात्रीतियंथा न पशुहितया ।

Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 15.7.

² अतो भाषाक्षमेवैतनमासार्थं ब्रह्मणाकृतम् ।
पितरस्तेनत्प्रग्निं शाढङ्कुर्वन् न तद्विना ।
यथा बलिष्ठं मांसत्वान्नायाक्षमपि तत्समम् ।
सौगतिकं च स्वादिष्टं मधुरं द्रव्यं भवेदतः ।

Prajāpati Sm. 152-53.

³ History of Medieval India Book 2, p. 192.

⁴ दक्षुदण्डस्य मण्डस्यदक्षःपिष्टकृतस्य च ।
वाराहस्य च मांसस्य सैष गच्छति काल्युनः ।

Kāvyamīmāṁsa VIII. p. 39.

⁵ एदं रायणाकाराविदतिहुयणविहारितिवेदनं ।

Moharājaparājaya IV. p. 93.

⁶ मृतश्च पञ्चमादृष्ट्यमक्रतः सप्रतोऽपिवा ।
पायसेन गुडेनापि पिण्डान् दद्याद् दशकमात् ।

Garuḍa Pu. 10.96.

गुडार्थं शान्तिमाप्नोति क्षीरेण च तथायुतम् ।
पश्चानासमं वर्णं चांशुमत्या: प्रजायते ।

Viśnudharmottara Pu. II. 63.8.

Cf. Viśnudharmottara Pu. II. 31.4. 11-12.
गुडशर्करमस्यएङ्गयो देयं काणिलमुरुरम् ।
गव्यं पयो दधि घृतं तैलञ्च तिलसंभवम् ।

Brahma Purāṇa.

use of honey on the ground that it was pressed out of the young eggs in the womb of bees and resembled the embryo in the first stage of its growth.¹ The *Pāṇḍra* variety of sugarcane was grown near Rājagṛha.² Sugar is also mentioned as an important article of food in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya (ninth century A.D.) In the Naisadha Carita the whiteness of sugar has been compared to a stream of snow.³

The act of preparing sweets is considered an art⁴ and many new sweets are mentioned. *Kāśāra* was a preparation of wheat flour, milk, clarified butter, crystal sugar, cardamom and black pepper.⁵ A preparation of wheat flour stuffed with *kāśāra* was called *udumbara*.⁶ A sweet preparation of wheat flour, *gūḍa* and some spices such as black pepper and cardamom was called *murmura*.⁷ *Modakas* prepared with rice flour, sugar and some aromatic spices such as cardamom and camphor were called *Varṣopalagolakas* because they looked like hailstones.⁸ Some-

¹ मञ्जिकागर्भसंभूतवालाप्नविनिपीडनात् ।

जाते मधुकथसन्तः सेवने कलताकृतिः ।

Yaśastilaka p. 331.

² Raviṣeṇa—Jaina Padma Purāṇa Ch. II.

³ अमीभिराकण्ठमभोग्यि तदग्रहे तुपारधारा मृदितेषशकंरा ।

Naisadha XVI. 93.

⁴ Śukranīti. IV. 3. 143.

⁵ ता केर ऊण कंसारलालपुड़द संजुयविसमोयं गोसे उवणेनिएवाणम् ।

Samaraicca. p. 187.

सुसंभिश्चो.....कासारो ।

Samaraicca. p. 189.

कसारं सुसारं सुहाली मणुज्ज्वा ।

Bhavisayatta XII. 3.

गोधूमचूर्णदुदृत्य शूर्पेणाम्याहतान् कणान् ॥८॥

दुरघाक्तान् धृतपवरान् सितया च विमिथितान् ।

एलामरिचचूर्णेन युक्तान् कासारसंवितान् ।

Manas. III. 1386-87.

⁶ गोलकेन समावेष्य तैलेनोदुम्बरान् पचेत् ।

Manas. III. 1388.

⁷ गुडमरिचैलाभिश्चो गोधूमस्थूलचूर्णाविकारः मुमुरः ।

Commentary Brahma Pu.

⁸ शोषितायां सितायां तु शीरं संमिथयेत् समम् ॥५॥

स्त्ररपाकावधियांवत् तत्कवाययेत् पुनः ।

उत्तार्यं नागरं तीक्ष्णमेलाकर्पूरकेसरैः ॥६॥

निक्षिप्य गोलकाः कार्या नाम्ना वर्षोलकास्तु ते ।

Manas. III. 1415-17.

times dolls were also made with sugar (*Sarkari putrikā*).¹ *Gṛtā-pūra*, *Pbenakas*, *Kbhjakas* and *Laddukas* continued to be popular.² Sometimes they were also prepared with rice or *mudga* pulse.³ In the preparation of *Kṣīraprakāra* sour curds were mixed with boiled milk and the solid part of curds was separated from the liquid one. The solid curds were mixed with rice flour and sweets were prepared in different shapes. Possibly they were same as modern *Camcams* and *rasagullās*.⁴ Another sweet prepared with milk was called *Kṣīrayastikā*.⁵

SPICES AND CONDIMENTS

All the spices mentioned earlier were used for seasoning.⁶ It seems a good lunch always consisted of some condiments (*avadamīsa*).⁷ *Vyahjana* is used in the sense of a special prepara-

अवधिवर्धोपलगोलकावली ।

Naisadha. XVI. 100.

एताकर्मूरशकं रालवङ्गुत्तम्भुत्पिष्टरचितानां गोलकानामतिवृत्तानां लद्दुकविशेषाणाम् ।

Commentary on the above.

¹ Naisadha XV. 104.

² वेउरापिवच्छ्रुतरिय संडयाचाउजाय ।
सुहपाय मर्दियसोयवट्टि फिणीओमंडिया ।

Vilāsavatī.

Kathākośa Prakarana—Śalibhadra p. 58.
गुणधारियालद्दुमा सीरखज्जा ।

Bhavisayatta. XII. 3.

Kathākośa Prakarana—Śalibhadra p. 58.
भोयणमुजाविडसुहचारिहि छडरसलद्दुम्बक्षडपयारिहि ।

Bhavisayatta. V. 11.

Naisadha XVI. 103.

पापसं शालिमुदगाद्यं मोदकादीश्च भक्षितः ।
पूरिकाश्च रसालाश्च गोक्षीरस्त्वं नियोजयेत् ।

Brahma Pu.

⁴ दुरधमुत्क्वाद्य तन्मध्ये तक्रमम्बं विनिश्चिपेत् । ८
हित्वा तोयं धनीभूतं वस्त्रबद्धं पृथक्कृतम् ।
शालितष्टलपिष्ठेन भित्तितम् परिपेतितम् । ९
नानाकारं सुषटितं सर्पिषा परिपाचितम् ।
पववशकरया सित्तमेलाचूर्णेन वासितम् ।
क्षीरप्रकारतामेवं भक्षं मूलं मनोहरम् ।

Manas III. 1408-1411.

⁵ Agni Purāpa. Ch. 164.

⁶ कंकोलकैलामर्चिचायुतानाम् जातीतरणां च स जन्मभूमिः ।

Kav. Mim. p. 224.

C.f. Manas. XIII. 1442-50.

⁷ मध्वपि नानवदंशं स्वदते ।

Kavy. mim. x. 134.

tion in the *Mānasollāsa* in which water used for washing rice was mixed with tamarind, butter milk, crystal sugar, powder of cardamom and juice of ginger. It was used after fumigation with asafoetida.¹ In preparing *Praleba*, curds, and juices of fruits such as tamarind, pomegranates, myrobalan, citron or *amlavetasa* were used. Some fragrant spices such as coriander, asafoetida, cumin, turmeric, ginger, pepper and salt were mixed with the fruit juices. The mixture was cooked on a slow fire with some oil.² A special variety of *praleba* was prepared with *sūrana*, ginger, butter milk and oil.³ Sour gruel was sometimes used after fumigation.⁴ It appears that some pickles were also used.⁵

OILS

Mustard oil⁶ and sesamum oil⁷ were more commonly used for frying and cooking food articles than in the previous period. Even in a *Srāddha* the use of sesamum oil is permitted.⁸ The

¹ तद्वृत्तकालितं तोयं चिन्नाम्लेन विभिश्वितम् ।
दृष्टवृक्षेण संयुक्तं सितया तह योजितम् ।
एलाचुण्डसमायुक्तमार्द्रकस्य रसेन च ।
धूपितं हिङ्गना सम्यक् व्यञ्जनं परिकीर्तितम् ।

Manas. III. 1578-79.

² दृष्टा विभिश्वयेचिन्नचां किंवा दाढिमसारकम् ।
अथवामलकपिठं मेलयेद् वाम्लवेतसम् । ४२ ।
रसं चा भानुलिङ्गस्य रसे दन्तशठस्य च ।
चिन्नयेद् वा रसानेतान् द्विशानपि यथारुचि । ४३ ।
गन्धार्थं धान्यकं हिङ्गुजीरकतत्र निशिपेत् ।
हरिद्रा वैव वण्ठार्थं सुसूक्ष्मं च ताराद्रकम् । ४४ ।
हस्त्यार्थं विश्वमरिचं सौन्धवं च विनिशिपेत् ।
गालयेत् सितावस्त्रेण किञ्चित् तैलं विभिश्वयेत् । ४५ ।
मृदःस्थाल्यां विनिशित्य दर्ढीघट्टनपूर्वकम् ।
प्रलेहकं मृदावनीपचेत् पाकविशारदः ।

Manas. III. 1442-46.

³ Naisadha XVI. 86.

⁴ सौवीरं निर्मलं साम्लं लदणेन च संयुतम् ।
हिङ्गना जीरकेणापि धूपितं धूपकाञ्जिकम् ।

Manas. III. 1588.

⁵ संधानं पानकं धान्यं पुण्यं मूलं फलं दलम् ।
जीवयोनि न संग्राह्यं यच्च जीवेण प्रदृतम् ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 335.

⁶ Sukraniti. IV. 7. 159-66.

⁷ Sukraniti. IV. 107-108, 110-112.

⁸ गुडशकरमत्स्यभ्यो देयं फाणितमुर्मुरम् ।
गव्यं पयोदधि घृतैलञ्चतिलं संभवम् ।

Brahma Purāpa.

poor people in the south used linseed oil.

FRUITS AND VEGETABLES

The common fruits in use were oranges, grapes, dates, cocoanuts, pomegranates, *karamarda*, mango, *laknca*, banana, bread fruits and *kapittba*.¹ Many beverages were prepared from fruit juices.² The Jains avoided five kinds of fruits such as *udumbara*, *asvattha*, *plaksa* and *nyagrodha* which are the breeding ground of various living organisms, visible and invisible.³

Fruits, leaves, roots, tubers, flowers and legumes of many plants were used as vegetables.⁴ *Pāthā*, *śāyā*, *śafti*, *vāstuka* and *suniśappaka* were the common pot herbs.⁵ Other vegetables in common use as before, were bottle gourd, cucumber, radish, brinjal and onions.⁶ Mustard stalks were generally eaten in winter.⁷ Somadeva praises a number of vegetables including

¹ Pauma-cariū III, Karpūramañjari pp. 255, 263, Sandeśarāsaka 56, Kāvyamīmāṃsā XVIII. p. 103, 106, Śukranīti, Naiṣadha XVI. 95, Amba Samudra Inscription of Varaguna Pandya, Bhavisayatta Kahā II. 3, XII. 3.

² See Chapter VII. F.D.A.I. p. 225.

³ मध्यमांस मधुत्वागाः सहोद्रुम्बरपञ्चकाः ।

अष्टावेते गृहस्थानामुक्तामूलगुणाःश्रुते । प० ३२७।

अश्वत्थोद्रुम्बरज्जकं न्यग्रोधादि फलेष्वयिः ।

प्रत्यक्षाः प्राणिनःरथूलाः सूक्ष्माद्वागमगोचराः । प० ३३०।

Yaśastilaka pp. 327 and 330.

⁴ फलशाकं पचशाकं कन्दशाकं च मूलकम् ।

पुणशाकं शिर्मिशाकं पववापवविभेदतः ।

Manas. III. 1548.

⁵ पाठाशूषाशटीशाकं वास्तुकं सुनिष्ठणकम् ।

विवर्णद्वन्द्वमवस्थसिवची भेदि तु वास्तुकम् ।

मण्डुकपर्णी पालहक्याचिलिकाचाप्यपोदका ।

चाज्ञरी हिलमोचा च कलम्बीशाकजातयः ।

Kṣirasvāmī on Amar. 165.

⁶ Manas. III. 1553-64.

अर्धरद्वालावूफलकालिप्रकारम्, ईपत्तिवज्ज ककर्हि..... अवालमालूरमूलक

अभूष्टचिर्भट्टिका....., ध्रपवकाँग्निदम नरज्जुणीफल....., अगस्ति-

चूताम्रातक पिचुमन्द कन्दल....., वृद्धी वारांक फल सोभाज्जन कन्द सालन.....,

एरण्ड फलवलाष्टुमुण्डिकाम्बरम् उच्छ्रूतोद्वेलित वल्ल करालको कुद्दोड्डमरम् अनल्प-

राजिका वर्जितावन्तिसोमावसानम्.....।

Yaśastilaka Book III, p. 404

(959 A.D.)

⁷ वराहवधारिणवोदनानि दधीनि सप्तद्वाशाणि चात्र ।

सुकोमलाः सर्पकन्दलीश्च भूषत्वा जनोनिन्दतिवैचिद्विद्याम् ।

Kav. Mim. p. 245.

slices of fresh ginger.¹ According to Kalhaṇa some people avoided the use of onions and garlic because cut onions resembled flesh and eating garlic was a foreign innovation.² Some vegetables such as *cirṛbiṭa* were cut into pieces dried and fried in oil or ghee to be taken as dainties.³

The vegetable preparations of the south are mentioned in the Ambasamudra Inscription of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya. *Kaykkari* was prepared with some vegetables and spices such as pepper, mustard and salt. *Pulinggari* was a preparation of horsegram and plantain fruit. Boiled curry (*pulukkukkari*), fried curry (*povikkari*) and a liquid preparation consisting of a vegetable cooked with Bengal gram or beans were generally eaten in the south.

INTOXICATING DRINKS

It appears that the habit of drinking was found among a considerable section of Indian society in this period. Even some Brāhmaṇa youths wasted their time in the company of dancing girls who were addicted to drinking.⁴ The sons of Hariśchandra by a Kṣatriya wife are called *madbhṛpāyina* (addicted to drinking).⁵ Some women are described as intoxicated with

¹ बालं वृत्ताकं कोहलं कारबेलं चिल्सी जीवन्ति वास्तुलस्तुण्डुलीयः।

सद्यः संभूष्टा: पर्पटाश्चिर्भट्टान्ताः किंस्वलौकैश्चेत् फालयस्चार्द्रकस्य।

Yāśastilaka III. 356.

² Stein-Rājatarāṅgiṇī Book I, p. 342.

³ *Kacceareū* or *kareari*

पुणोपकच्छरा पण्डा दिल्लभेया

जयं ताणं कोवश्चरा दिल्लतेया।

Bhavi. XII. 3.

तिडिसं कच्छरं अंबशंबोद्धया

दिल्लतुंडीरिया खडं संजोइया।

Vilāsavatī.

⁴ कवपुरोडाशपवित्वेदपदोदगारगर्भवदन्ते।

कवच मदिरासववासितवारवधूमुखरसास्तादः।

Kuṭṭanimatam. 414.

⁵ तेन श्री हृषिश्वन्देण परिणीता द्विजात्मजा।

द्वितीयाक्षत्रिया भद्रा महाकुलं गुणान्विता।

प्रतिहारा द्विजाभूता वाहूष्यां ये भवन्तुतः।

राज्ञी भद्राच यान् सूते ते भूता मधुपायिनः।

Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka (V.S. 894) verses No. 7-8
E.I. Vol. XVIII. p. 95.

C.f. Vanarājā was much addicted to drinking.

वनराजस्थाहं बहुमतोभूवमित्युपस्थितममूना।

इयंधवलहरे सुचिरं चावुकुडं रायलापित्रो।

Moharājaparājaya IV. 47.

drinking.¹ Women liked the *vārūpi* variety of wine.² Drinking wine after partaking of pepper and betel leaves was, according to Rājaśekhara, the general practice among the ladies of the south.³ Somadeva gives an interesting account of a drinking place in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*.⁴ In the *Sukranītisāra* distillation of wine is regarded as an art and moderate use of wine is recommended.⁵ On the occasion of marriage feasts drinking was common especially among Kṣatriyas.⁶ Medhātithi also says that while Brāhmaṇa women did not drink wine at festivals, Kṣatriya and other women, to whom drinking was not forbidden, indulged in excessive drinking on festive occasions.⁷ Courtezans and Tāntrikas were, no doubt, addicted to drinking.⁸

There were, as before, four important sources from which intoxicating liquors were prepared treacle, cereals, *madhuśuka* flowers and some fruits.⁹ But the most common varieties in use were

¹ मदिरायमत्तवनिता। The description of Rājagṛha in the Jaina Padma Purāṇa Ch. II by Raviṣeṇa (834 V.S.).

² कान्तोच्छिष्टा वाहणी वारिमिथा।

Karpūra Mañjari, p. 256.

³ पिवन्त्यास्वाद्य मरिचं ताम्बूलविशदैर्मुखे :।

Kav. Mim. VII. p. 39.

प्रियाधरवद्वान्ति सधूनि द्रविलाङ्गनाः।

सपञ्चमतरङ्गिणोसवज्जीवला वेणुगो।

समं सिसिर वारिणा वश्ण सीञ्जला वाहणी।

Karpūramanjarī IV. 6.

⁴ आपानभूमिः सज्जेयं तदवागम्यताभिति । १२४।

विचित्ररत्नचयकप्रहूलविविधाम्बुजाम्

विकीर्णनिककुसुमामुद्यालनलिनीभिति । १२५।

व्याप्तां मत्तासवापूर्णी कलशीभिः पुरुन्धरभिः।

सुवन्तीभिः सुधाहरू वाहूतपश्चामृतप्रभम्।

Kathāsariṭ Sāgara VIII, 110.

⁵ प्रति मद्यं हि! पिवतो बुद्धिलोपो भवेत् किल्।

प्रतिभां बुद्धिवैश्यं धैर्यं चित्तविनिश्चयम्।

तनोति मात्रया पीतं भद्रमन्यद् विनाशकृत्।

Sukranīti, I. 115-116.

C.f. Sukranīti IV. 3. 141.

⁶ Naisadha XVI, 99.

⁷ Medhātithi on Manu. IX. 84.

⁸ Courtezans—Kumārapāla Carita, IV. 10-21.

Tāntrikas—मज्जं पिमामो महिलरमामो।

मज्जं भंसंपिज्जए खज्जए च।

Karpūramanjarī pp. 22-23.

⁹ गीडी पैष्टी च माघ्वी च फलोत्या सुरा स्मृता।

Kṣīrasvāmī on Amar. Bhumi Śūdra 43.

those prepared from bread fruit, grapes, dates, palmyra, *madhuika* flowers, sugarcane, honey, cocoanut, cereals, *saira*, *vāruṇī*, *maiseya* and *ariṣṭa*.¹

Evil effects of drinking were well known. Sukraniti condemns excessive drinking and lays down that one should not visit liquor houses nor should he sell liquor.² Somadeva condemns drinking by saying that drunkards are generally liars. Drinking is the root of all evils since it completely deludes the mind and is, therefore, the greatest of all sins. He cites the example of *Yādavas* who were ruined on account of drinking and says that drunkards are transformed into wine to delude the minds of men after a long succession of births and rebirths.³ From Alberuni's account it appears that a section of people belonging to higher castes abstained from drinking.⁴ Most of the Dharmashāstras of this period also condemn drinking by the three higher castes.⁵ According to Alberuni drinking was common among the Śūdras.⁶

¹ Pulastya quoted in Mitākṣarā on Yaj.

² Sukraniti. I. 115-116. See F.D.A.I. p. 222, f. n. 5.
C.f. Sukraniti. III. 63-64 and 242.

मासादिपु द्वया नास्ति न सत्यं मध्यपायिषु ।

³ सर्वदोषादयो मध्यान्महामोहकुरेभर्ते: ।
सर्वेषां पातकानानन्वच पुरःसरतया स्थितम् ।
हिताहितविमोहेत देहिनः किं न पातकम् ।
कुर्यात् संसारकान्ता परिभ्रमणकारणम् ।

मध्येन यादवा नष्टा नष्टा यूतेन पाण्डवाः ।
इति सर्वत्रलोकेऽस्मिन् सुप्रसिद्धं कथानकम् ।
समूत्पद्य विषप्तेह देहिनोऽनेकयाः किल ।
मध्योभवति कालेन मनोमोहाय देहिनाम् ।
मध्यैकविन्दुसंपन्नाः प्राणिनः प्रचरन्ति चेत् ।
पूरयेयन् सदेहं समस्तमपि विष्टप्तम् ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 327.

C.f. Subhāsita Sandoha Ch. 31.

⁴ Alberuni Ch. 68.

⁵ अदेयं जाप्यपेयं च तर्हैवास्पृश्यमेव च ।
द्विजातीनामनालोकयं नित्यं मद्यमिति स्थितिः । ४३ ।
तस्मात् सर्वं प्रयत्नेन मर्द्दं नित्यं विवर्जयेत् ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 330.

Padma Pu. Adi 56, 43-44.

⁶ Alberuni Ch. 68.

WATER AND OTHER BEVERAGES

Somadeva lays emphasis on the proper use of water. Water is called both nectar and poison; properly used it is like nectar and used without proper care it acts like a poison.¹ Transparent water, without any taste and smell, and swept by wind and sunshine is beneficial. In all other cases water should be boiled before drinking. Water exposed to the rays of the sun and the moon should not be used longer than a day and a night, water boiled in day time should not be taken at night, and water boiled at night should not be taken in the day time.² The Mānasollāsa mentions all the sources of water mentioned earlier and calls water inside a cocoanut fruit *Vārķa* water.³ It recommends the use of water purified with spices, such as cloves and camphor and fumigated with a piece of clay baked in fire of *khadira* wood.⁴ Sometimes flowers such as *pātala*, *utpalā* and *campaka* were used to make drinking water fragrant.⁵ Someśvara recommends the use of rain water in the autumn season, of river water in the *Hemanta*, water of tanks in the *Sisira*, of the pools in the spring, of a spring in summer and of wells in the rainy season. But *Hamisodaka* is recommended for all seasons.⁶ Sometimes water was stored in golden jars and cooled

¹ Yaśastilaka II. 368.

² Yaśastilaka III. 370-371.

³ दिव्यान्तरिक्षं नारदं नैर्भरम् सारसं चलम्।

भौमं चौण्डं च ताढाकमीन्द्रिद्वयं नवम् स्मृतम्।

Manas. III. 1605.

वशम् केचिदिच्छन्ति वाक्षंजीवनमुत्तमम्।

नारिकेलसमुद्भूतं स्वादु वृद्धं मनोहरम्।

Manas. III. 1615.

⁴ कणामस्तकं संयुक्तमेलोचीरकं चन्दनैः।

मर्दितं मूत्तिकापिण्डं लविराङ्गारपचितम्। १६।

निक्षिपेत् निर्भले तोये सर्वदोषहरे शुभे।

कथितः पिण्डवासोऽयं सलिलेषु विक्षणः।

Manas. III. 1619-20.

⁵ लक्ष्मीशीरकपुर्वकान्तानलचन्दनैः।

सलिलामयकङ्कोलपद्धाकर्चूरसंयुतैः।

विचूणितं समैद्रभिः सुशीतामलवारिणा।

चूणांधिवासिनः प्राह।

Manas. III. 1622-24.

⁶ दिव्यं शरदिं पानीयं हेमन्ते सरिखुद्भवम्।

शिशिरे वारि ताढागं वसन्ते सारसं पयः।

निदावे नैर्भरं तीयं भौमं प्रावृष्टि पीयते।

हृतोदकं सदा पञ्चं वाक्षं पेयं यथारचि।

Manas. III. 1627.

with drafts of air after fumigating it with the fire of aloe wood. It was considered very tasteful.¹

Some beverages and syrups were also in use.² Preparation of a special beverage is described in the Mānasollāsa. It was prepared by mixing some acid fruit juice with boiled milk. Then the liquid part was separated from the solid part. In the strained liquid sugar and powder of cardamom were mixed. The mixture was strained in a piece of cloth again and again till it became quite pure. Roasted tamarind fruit with the juice of some other fruits was mixed with this strained liquid. Similarly syrups were also prepared with other sour fruits.³

THE ART OF COOKING AND UTENSILS

The account of the marriage feast of Damayanti shows a very high stage of development in the art of cooking. The guests at the feast could not distinguish the vegetarian dishes from the non-vegetarian ones. The combination and method of preparation of various ingredients was so excellent that the products of one season were mistaken for those of another.⁴

Somadeva in his Yaśastilaka refers to some fine vegetarian

Water exposed to the rays of the sun in the daytime and to those of the moon at night was called *Hamsodaka*.

¹ अकारि नीहारनिभं प्रभव्यजनावधूपि यच्चाग रुसारदाहमिः।

निपीय भृत्यारक सज्जि तत्र तैरवर्णि वारि प्रतिवारमीदुषाम् ।

Naishadha. XVI. 89.

² See F.D.A.I. p. 219, f. n. 5.

Yaśastilaka. p. 335.

C.f. Visnudharmottara Pu. II. 63.12.

कार्यदृश्यं समास्याप्य वधनीयादुज्जवलाम्बरम् ।

प्रसार्य यष्टिभिः किञ्चित् धीरमलेण भेदितम्

सितया च समायुक्ते नेत्रलाचर्णविमिथितम् ।

क्षिपेत् प्रसारिते वस्त्रे स्नावयेत् पैथयेत् समम् ।

पुनः पुनः विषेत् तत्र यावन्निर्भलता ब्रजेत्।

पक्षवाच्चत्त्वापाल भूष्ट वणाथ तत्र निकापत्

यस्य कस्य फलस्थापि रसनं पारमश्रयत् ।
तत्त्वान् विद्यतां विद्यते विद्यते विद्यते ॥२१॥

Manas, III, 1581-84.

⁴ સાથીમિથે જમણામિષન્ધમં વિડામિથે જામિષમોહમહિરે ।

तथा विद्युतः परिकर्मं तिष्ठतम् विचिन्तयेते परिहस्य भोजिवाः।

Naishadha XVI, 81.

अनेकसंयोजनदा तथाकृते निकृत्य निष्पित्य च तादगर्जनात्।

अमीकृताकालिकावस्तुविस्मयं जना बहुव्यञ्जनमयबाहरन्।

Naishadha. XVI. 83.

dishes,¹ while the Mānasollāsa describes in detail some delicious meat preparations and dismisses the vegetarian dishes in one verse.² The Viṣṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa lays down that food articles should be cooked on a slow fire.³ Somadeva mentions that food articles are cooked well in a vessel that is covered and stirred.⁴

Many cooking utensils and implements are mentioned.⁵ The royal families used utensils made of precious stones, gold or silver.⁶ It was believed that food preparations served in earthen vessels tasted well but generally a king was to be served in a golden dish and golden cups.⁷ The rules about cleaning the utensils were the same as in the earlier period.⁸

RULES OF DIET AND ETIQUETTE

As in the earlier period the householder was expected to make food offerings to gods, forefathers, guests and dependants before he himself took his meals. He was not to eat anything

¹ Yaśastilaka, Book III.

² कल्पयेद् विविधैः शाकेर्भौतवृत् पाककोविदः ।

वटकान् पर्षटान् हृद्यान् अङ्गारैः परिमज्जयेत् ।

Manas. III. 1549.

³ नात्यर्थदीप्तेन हुताशनेन नात्यन्तमन्देन च सात्यमन्तम् ।

रसं च चाप्यत्र भवेत् प्रभूतं नात्यल्पमेतत्कथितं मध्या ते ।

Vishnu Dh. Pu. II. 63 113.

⁴ Yaśastilaka III. 322.

⁵ Manas. III, ch. 13, Naiṣadha. XVI., Bhavisayatta. VI. 16.

⁶ हरितस्योर्भौजनाऽभाजनेऽर्पिते गताः प्रकोपं किल वार्यात्रिकाः ।

Naiṣadha. XVI. 66.

⁷ Manas. III. 1585.

⁸ तैजसानामुच्छिष्टानां गोशङ्गन्मूदभस्मिः । परिमार्जनमन्यतमेन वा । ३४। ताम्र-
रजतसुवर्णनामन्त्वैः । ३५। अमत्राणां दहनं । ३६। दारवाणां तक्षणम् । ३७। वैणवाणां गोम-
येन । ३८। फलमयानां गोवालरज्जवा । ३९। कुण्डाजिनानां विलवत्पृष्ठैः । ४०।

Baudhayana Sm. I. 5, 34-40.

मृण्यवं भाजनं सर्वं पुनः पाकेन शुद्धयति ।

मद्यमूर्च्छैः पुरीषेच षट्ठीवर्ते पूर्णशोणितः । १।

संस्पृष्टं नैव शुद्धयेत् पुनः पाकेन मृण्यम् ।

एतैरेव तथा स्पृष्टं ताम्रसीषणं राजतम् । २।

शुद्धत्यावर्तितं पश्चादन्यथा केवलाम्भसा ।

अम्लोदकेन ताम्रस्य सीसस्य व्रपुष्टस्तथा ।

क्षारेन शुद्धिः कांसस्य लोहस्य च विनिर्दिशेत् । ३।

अब्जानां चैव भाण्डानां सर्वस्याशमयस्य च ।

Sankha. Sm. XVI. 1-3.

which he did not offer to the gods, manes, and guests.¹ A Brāhmaṇa was expected to feed guests even if they belonged to Vaiśya or Sudra castes.² He was also to set apart some food for low creatures.³

In this period much more emphasis on the purity of food seems to have been laid than in the previous period. Severe penances are prescribed for eating impure food⁴ and food offered by those whose food should not be accepted. Some new additions have been made to the list such as food offered by a person who has renounced the world without proper ceremony.⁵

¹ देव पित्रतिथिभ्योश्मदत्वा नाशनीयात् कवचित्
आत्मार्थं यः पचेन्मोहान्नरकार्थं स जीवति ।

Sukra III. 134.

C.f. Viṣṇu Dharmottara Pu. Ch. 233, 118-126 Baudhāyana Sm. II. 7.270
कालेऽस्त्वयं कृष्णमवहितो दित्समानो विधुत्य ।
नो भोक्तव्यं प्रथमतिथेर्यः सदा तिष्ठतीति ।
तस्यावपि गतमलं पुण्यराशिं व्यवन्तम् ।
तं दातारं जिनपतिमते भूस्यमाहुजिनेद्राः ।

Subhīṣita Sandoha (994 A.D.)

विष्णसाशीभवेत्प्रित्यं चामृतभोजनः ।
यज्ञशेषोऽमृतं भुवतशेषं तु विष्णसं विकुः ।

Skanda Pu. Kāti 41 22.

² वैश्यशूद्रादपि प्राप्तो कुटुम्बेत्प्रित्यधर्मणौ ।
भोजयेत् सहभूतेस्तानाशू'स्यं प्रयोजयेत् ।

Viṣṇu Dharmottara Pu. 233.31.

³ अकृत्वा वैश्यदेवंतु ये मूच्छन्त्यधर्मिकाः ।
कृथा तेनात्पाकेन काकोर्णि भ्रजन्ति ते ।

Laghu Śatātapa Sm. 52.

C.f. Vṛddha Hārīta Sm. 281, Veda Vyaso Sm. III. 40-49.

⁴ Āṅgirasa Sm. 88.

मत्तकृद्वातुराणां न च भुञ्जीत कदाचन ।

⁵ महापातकिना स्पृष्टम् यज्ञस्पृष्टमृद्यव्यया ।२।
गणानां गणिकानां च वार्षीयोरायकस्य च ।
अभिशस्तपण्डस्य यस्यास्चोपापतिर्गृहे ।३।

रजकस्य नवांतस्य वन्दिनः कित्तवस्य च ।४।

मिथ्याप्रद्विजितस्यानां पुण्यत्वास्तेलिकस्य च ।५।

चण्डालशवपचानां तु भूवत्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।

अनिदर्शान् च प्रेतानां गवाद्वातं तथैव च ।६।

प्राशयमृतपुरीयाणि द्विजश्चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ।

शूक्राणि जग्धवा मांसानि प्रेतानां कवकानि च ।७।

गत्यावश्यकरोण्डाणां गोमायोः कपिकाकयोः ।

गोनराशवखरोण्डाणां छवार्कं चामकुकुटम् ।८।

मांसं जग्धा कुञ्जरस्य तप्तकच्छणं शुद्धयेति ।९।

Agni. Pu. Ch. 168.

C.f. Padma Pu. Adi. Ch. 56. 1-17, 26, Viṣṇu. Dh. Pu. III. 230 5-7,
Vṛddha Hārīta. Sm. 267-68.

As before stale food was forbidden except food articles cooked in clarified butter, and preparations of rice and milk.¹ Generally, the Dharmasāstras of this period do not allow the people of three higher castes to take food or drinks offered by a Śūdra² but they were permitted to accept milk rice, food articles cooked in clarified butter, milk, groats, oil cake and oil.³ It was considered improper to take the leavings of food of some other person but if a Brāhmaṇa, now and then, took his food with his wife it was not considered a sin. Āpastamba also permits a person to eat the leavings of his father or elder brother.⁴ Somadeva forbids eating and drinking in the house of those who take wine, meat and honey and even the use of utensils belonging to them. He states that a person should avoid water brought in water-skins, oil kept in leather flasks, and women who are not in a fit state for vows.⁵ The practices of bathing before taking meals, two persons not eating from the same dish and throwing leaves and earthenware once used for eating as now, were observed

¹ भोज्यमन्नं पर्युषितं स्नेहाकृतं चिरसंभूतम् ।
अस्नेहा व्रीहीयःश्लक्षणा विकाराःपयसस्तथा ।

Vamana Pu. XIV. 59.

Visnu. Dh. Pu. III. 228, 8, Laghvāśvālāyana Sm. 170, Yaśastilaka III.

344.

² Angiras Smṛti. 67, Abu. Sam. 174-178, Ap. Sm. III. 3.

³ पायसं स्नेहपवबं गोरस्सचैव सकृतवः । १६॥
पिण्डाकंचैव तैलं च शूद्राद् ग्राहाणं द्विजातिभिः । १७॥

Padma Pu. Adi. 56 18-19.

आममासं मधुधृतम् घाना क्षीरं तथैव च ।
गुडस्तकं रसाप्राहा निवृतेनापि शूद्रतः ।
शाकं मांसं मूणालानि तुम्बुरुः सकृतवस्तिलाः ।
रसाःफलानि पिण्डाकं प्रतिप्राहाणिं सर्वतः ।

Ap. Sm. VIII.

C.f. Prajapati. Sm. 130, Laghu. Sankha. Sm. 67.

⁴ ब्राह्मण्या सहयोज्ञीयादुच्छिष्टं वा कदाचन ।
न सत्र दोषं मन्यन्ते नित्यमेव मनीषिणः ।

Ap. Sm. V. 7-8.

पितुर्येष्टस्य च भ्रातुरुच्छिष्टं भोज्यम् ।

Ap. Sm.

⁵ मध्यादिस्वादिगेहेषु पानमन्नं च नाचरेत् ।
तदमत्रादि संपके न कुर्वीत कदाचन ।
दृति प्रायेषु पानीयं स्नेहं च कुतपादिषु ।
ग्रतस्यो वज्रेन्नित्यं योषितश्चात्रतोचिताः ।

Yaśastilaka. p. 331.

C.f. Atri Sm.

in the ninth century.¹ The practice of not eating the food served at the house of one's daughter had also come into vogue.² Cakes, groats, parched barley, butter milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, preparations of milk, and sugarcane, or food cooked in oil or clarified butter could be bought from the market if water was not used in preparing them.³

Food was taken twice a day⁴ without reviling it,⁵ and one was expected to take only as much food as was necessary to satisfy hunger.⁶ Somadeva states that he who gorges himself with food gluttonously even when he is not hungry stirs up diseases.⁷ One is, therefore, advised to abstain from over-eating, undereating, eating of combinations of hygienic and unhygienic food, and eating immediately after eating.⁸ It is recommended that food should vary according to the season. In the autumn a person should take sweet, bitter and astringent things, in the rainy and the winter seasons he should take sweet,

¹ Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mohammedan travellers translated from Arabic by Eusebius Renaudot, pp. 36 and 98, 99.

² स्वसुतानं च यो भृहक्षते स भृहक्षते पृथिवीमलम्।

Atri. Sm. 304.

³ अपूष सकतवो धानास्तकं दधि घृतं मधुं।

एतत्पर्ण्यु भोक्तव्यं भाष्वलेपो च चदभवेत्। १७१।

प्राह्ण श्रीरविकारं स्यात्सर्वं चैवेषु सभवम्।

तौलयी राज्यपवनं च जलसंमितिं न हि। १७३।

Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 171, 173

⁴ सायं प्रातश्च भुज्ञीत नान्तराले कदाचन।

सायं प्रातर्मनुष्याणामशनं देवनिमितम्।

Vishnu. Dh. Pu. III. 233, 28.

C.f. Gaut. Sm. IX. 4.

⁵ Vṛddha Harita Sm. VIII. 267.

अथं न निन्दात् सुस्वच्छः स्वीकुर्यात् प्रीतिभोजनम्।

आहारं प्रवरं विद्यात् षड्सं मधुरोत्तमम्।

Sukra. III. 109.

⁶ यावद् चिन्येत् जठरं तावस्त्वं हि वेहिनाम्।

अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत् स स्तेनो दण्डमहेति।

Bhāgavata Pu. VII. 14, 8.

⁷ Yaśastilaka III. 329.

See Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture by K. K. Handiqui p. 112.

नाजीरो भोजनं कुर्यात् कुर्यान्नातिवभुक्षितः।

Brahma Pu.

⁸ अत्यशनं लघवशानं समशनमध्यशनमत्र संत्याज्यम्।

Yaśastilaka III. 345.

काले हितमिताहारविहारी विषसाशनः।

Sukra III. 107.

salty and sour things, and in the summer mild preparations.¹

We are also told that the constant eating of over-sweet dishes leads to indigestion, too much of salty food causes weakening of vision, extremely sour and pungent dishes lead to physical decay and any unhygienic food causes loss of strength. Certain remedies are also suggested for indigestion.² Someśvara lays down the order of dishes as they should be served. In the beginning one should take boiled rice then milk rice mixed with sugar and clarified butter, then fruits and sweet and sour articles of food, then delicious beverages and preparations like Šikhariṇī and thick curds should be taken. Last of all, preparations of butter milk mixed with salt or sour gruel should be taken.³ As in the earlier period, some articles are mentioned which should not be taken together. Bananas should not be taken with curds and butter milk, milk with salt, and broths of pulses with radishes, groats should not be taken when they become thick like curds and all sesamum preparations should be avoided at night. Germinating paddy and ghee kept in a brass vessel for a period of ten days are also forbidden.⁴ In the case of royal families it was customary to examine the food preparations to see that they did

¹ Yaśastilaka III. 349-353.

C.f.

पूर्णं मुद्गाः शालिः समितविकृतिः क्षीरविधयः।
पटोलं मृद्गीकाः फलमिह च धात्र्याः समुचितम्।
सिता शीतच्छाया मधुरसवदां कन्दकुपलं।
शररकाले सेव्यं रजनि वदने चन्द्रकिरणाः।

Yaśastilaka III. 354.

वसन्ते कटु चाशनीयाद् शीघ्रे मधुरखीतलम्।
वर्षासु च तथा क्षारं गधुरं शरीरं स्मृतम्।
हेमन्ते स्निग्धमूर्णां च शिशिरेऽप्युष्णमन्त्लकम्।

Manas. XIII. 1599-1600.

² Yaśastilaka III. 364-366.

³ पक्वान्नं पायसं मध्ये शक्तिराघुतविभित्तिम्।
ततः कलानि भुज्जीत भृषुराम्लरसानि च। १५६५।
पिवेक्ष्व पानकं हृदृ लिङ्गाच्छब्दरिणीमपि।
चूपेत् मज्जिका पदचाहिं चाचात्ततो धनम्। १५६६।
ततस्त काम्पमशनीयात् सैन्धवेन च संयुतम्।
क्षीरं वापि पिवेत्पश्चात् पिवेत्वा काञ्जिकं वरद्।

Mānasollāsa II. 13. 1595-97.

⁴ Yaśastilaka III. 341-43.

C.f.

रात्रौ च तिलसम्बद्धं प्रयत्नेन दधि त्पजेत्।
माशनीयात्पयसा तत्र सक्षाराज्जं त योजयेत्।

Padma Pu. Adi. 56. 25.

not contain any poison and the symptoms are described in the works of this period as in those of the earlier periods.¹

A student and a householder were expected to take a nourishing full meal so that they might be able to perform sacrificial rites.² But the hermits lived on such coarse food as roots, fruits, tubers, vegetables, husked cereals, water or air alone.³

The general rules of etiquette were the same as in earlier period. A person should take his meals in a secluded place.⁴ He should sit not on bare ground and should not take his meals standing, walking or riding some animal. He should face the east and have his sacred thread and some clothes on his body but should not have his head dress or his shoes on. He should not take his meals in a burial ground or in a temple. He should not keep the food in his lap, in the palm of his hand or on a seat. He should neither have wet clothes nor his head wet. He should not, while taking meals, have his legs stretched. He should not sit on a cot, or on a seat made of leather. He should not eat leavings of his own food or drink. He should not eat very quickly in the company of many persons. He should not leave much food in his dish and should wash his mouth before going out.⁵

¹ Yaśastilaka III. 338-340.

C.f.

विषदोषभयादत्थं दिमद्य कपिकुम्कुटैः।
हृसाः स्वलन्ति कूजन्ति भृगाः नत्यन्ति मायुराः।
विरोति कुकुटो भृता: कौञ्चो वैरचते कोपैः।
हृष्टरोमा भवेद् बञ्जः सारिकापते तथा।
दृष्ट्वैव सविष्यं चालं तस्माद् भोज्यं परीक्षयेत्।

Sukraniti I. 325.27.

² गृहस्थो ग्रह्याचारी वा योनशनस्तु तपश्चरेत्।
प्राणान्तिहोत्रलोपेन अवकीर्णी भवेत् सः।

Baudhayana Sm. II. 7. 33-34

³ Baudh. Sm. III. 3.

⁴ कृपाद्विहारमाहारं निहरिंदिजने सदा।

Sukraniti III. 108.

⁵ भूमौ सदैव चाशनीयात्र च शब्दवत्।

Visnu. Dh. Pu. 233. 31.

हृस्त्यश्वरथयानोद्भुमास्थितो नैव भवेत्।
दमशानाम्बन्धन्तरस्थो वा वैवास्तव्यमेत्यवा।
शयनस्थो न भूज्ञीत न पाणिस्थं न चासने।
नाद्रवासाः नाद्रैशारा न चायशोपवीतवान्।
न प्रसारितपादस्तु पादारोपितपाणिभान्।
सदाहृसंक्षिप्तसंस्थयश्च न च एवं कुमास्थितः।
न वैष्टितशिरा चापि नोत्सङ्कृतभाजनः।

It was a general rule that sweets and other delicious dishes were not to be taken alone.¹ Sukra states that a person should not be too formal at the time of dinner if he wants to be happy.² He should eat his food quietly, neither talking, nor laughing nor making a noise.³ All persons were expected to take the same dishes in a party.⁴

Chewing betel leaves with some spices after meals was common as it was believed that it aided digestion.⁵ In the Naiṣadha

नैकवस्त्रो दण्डमध्यो नोपानत्कः सपावुकः ।
न चर्मपिरिसंस्थन्व चर्मविष्टिपाशब्द्वान् ।
आसाशेषं न चाइनीयात् पीतशीषं पिबेन्न च ।
शाकमूलफलेश्वरां दन्तच्छेदैर्नभक्षयेत् ।
बहूनां भूञ्जाता मध्ये न चाइनीयात् हवराग्नितः ।
वृथा न विसृजेदर्थं नोच्छिष्टः कुरुचिवृ व्रजेत् ।

Brahma, Pu.

Someśvara suggests that the king should sit on a cushion with a white napkin spread from the navel to the knee and take his food in the company of his near relatives and reliable courtiers.

ऋग्भिप्रदेशान्तं सञ्चाच्च सितवाससा ।

Manasollāsa III. 13. 1588.

C.f.

प्राणीमुखस्तु भूञ्जान आयुश्च लभते वहु ।
यशश्च लभते प्रयर्थमेवनन्दक्षिणदिह्मुखः ।
क्रियं तु लभते पुष्टा भूञ्जानः पश्चिमाननः ।
सत्यवाचयकलं प्राप्नोत्यक्षन् धनविद्ध्मुखः ।

Mānasollāsa III. 13. 1590-91.

स्वाध्याये भोजने पाने पादुके वै विसर्जयेत् । ३१ ।
यद्येष्टितशिरा भूङ्गते यो भूङ्गते दक्षिणमुखः ।
सौपानत्कश्च यो भूङ्गते तदैरक्षाति भूञ्जते । ३२ ।
नौत्सर्गे भोजनं कुत्वा नो पाणी नैवकर्परे ।
नासने न च सव्यायां भूञ्जीत न मक्षादितः ।

Skanda Pu. Kāśī 41. 31-33.

C. f. Ap. Sm. IX., Vṛuddha Hārīta Sm. VIII. 267-276.

¹ एकः स्वादु न भूञ्जीत ।

Sukra III. 52.

² आहारे त्यवहारे च त्यक्तताज्ज्ञः सुखीभवेत् ।

Sukra III. 186.

³ हृसन्नासं च यो भूङ्गते सशब्दं सेज्जितं तथा ।

लेहितं त्र्यतिं चैव पठेते पश्चिक्तवृष्यकाः ।

Bṛhadhyama Sm. 33.

⁴ पश्चिक्तभेदैन यो भूङ्गते आसामात्रमपिद्विजः ।

अथं स केवलं भूङ्गते हतश्रीजयितैष्टुवम् ।

Laghvāśvalāyana Sm. 159.

⁵ कप्यूरवीड्यपहाणाऽत तम्बोलाऽहं ।

Samaraiccasakha, p. 80.

Carita after a grand dinner the bridegroom's party was served with betel leaves. Spices such as camphor and *kastūri* were used in preparing them. As they were chewed a pungent sensation was created on the tongue which made the people feel as if scorpions were stinging.¹ Chewing betel leaves in the company of others without being presented with them by others was regarded as a breach of social etiquette.²

The Dharma Sāstras of this period give a long list of articles which were taboo in sacrifices and of those which were regarded pure enough to be used. The Mitākṣarā considers the use of *vṛībi*, *fāli*, barley, wheat, *mudga*, *māṣa*, cereals used by ascetics, *kālaśāka*, *mahāśāka* (a kind of fish), cardamom, dry ginger, black pepper, asafoetida, treacle, sugar, camphor, rock salt, salt from the Sambhar lake, bread fruit, cocoanut, banana, jujube, products of cow's milk, such as milk, curds, clarified butter and milk, rice, honey and meat proper on such occasions. It prohibits the use of *kodrava*, *masūra*, gram, *kulatība*, shelled grain, *nispāva*, *rājamāṣa*, *kūsmāṇḍa* (gourd), *brinjal*, *brhatī*, *podakī*, tender leaves of bamboo, long pepper, *vaca*, *śatapuspā*, *ñāra* and *bīḍa* salts, milk rice prepared from the milk of a buffalo or *camara*. Similar injunctions, with some variations, are found in the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas of the period.³ But Vījñāneśvara permits the use of

लाभः स एव परमः पर्याप्तं तेन तृप्तास्मि।

विनिवेद्य यदुत्सङ्गे निविपति मुखे मुखेन ताम्बूलन्।

Kuṭṭanimatam.

C.f. Kathāsarit Sāgara Vol. VI. p. 23, VII. p. 74, VIII. p. 4.

Vikramānadeva Carita X. 38, Albertuni 68.

¹ मुखे निषाय ऋमुके नलानुगैरयोजिभ्य पर्णीनिरवेक्ष्य वृश्चिकम्।

दमापित्तान्तर्मुखवासर्निर्मितम् भयाविलैः स्वभ्रहसितास्तिलैः।

Naisadha XVI 110.

² Sukra II. 410-11.

³ हृषिष्यं आदृ हृषियर्थं श्रीहिंशालियबगोधूममुद्गमायमुत्पन्नकालशाक्यहाशलक्ष्मा-शुष्ठी भर्त्ति हिङ्गु गुडशाकैरा कर्णूरसंवृथ्व साम्भरपनसनारिकेल कदली बदरगव्यं पयोदधि घृतं पायसं मधुमांसं प्रभूतिसमृत्यन्तरं प्रसिद्धं वेदितव्यम्। अहृषिष्यमित्यनेनायोग्यस्य स्मृत्यन्तरं प्रतिषिद्धस्यकोद्रवं भस्तुरचणकं कुलित्यं पुलाकं निष्पाव राजमापं कूब्जाव याताकं वृहतीड्योपोद्य-कीं वंशाङ्कुरपिष्पली वचाशतपुष्पोपरं विडलवणं माहिषं चामरं क्षीरं दधि घृतं पायसादीना निवृत्तिः।

Mitākṣarā on Yaj. I. 240.

C.f. Agni. Pu. 165. 2, 168 16.21. Padma. Pu. Adi. 56 19-24, 31-35. Skanda. Pu. Kāśi. 40 9-13.

garlic as a medicine and quotes Sumantu as an authority.¹ Some Jain writers objected to the eating of beans and pulses as these too, according to them, are flesh, being endowed with life. Soma-deva, however, rejects this view,² and states that all liquids should be strained through a cloth before use to avoid any possible injury to living creatures and one was for the same reason to give up eating at night.³ Pickles, syrups, unhusked paddy, flowers, fruits, roots and leaves, being the breeding ground of living organisms, should not be acquired for use nor anything that is frequented by the latter. Hollow stalks and reeds should be avoided as well as creepers and bulbs resorted to by diverse creatures. Herbs and creatures should be taken when no longer raw, after splitting them into two sections, and all kinds of pulses and beans which are cooked entire should be avoided.⁴

Sräddha feasts were common during this period but we get some other details about the food habits of the people. Fruits such as citrus medica, cocoanut, banana, dates, and oranges were

Visnu. Dh. Pu. 141 21-26. III. 230 12-14. III. 233 26-27.

Angiras Sm. 139, Atri. Sam. 92, 235, 379, Atri. Sm. 7 Ap. Sm. VI. 9, Prajapati Sm. 113-123.

Vṛddha Hārīta Sm. VII. 108-123, VIII. 253-254, 261-265, 277-282. XI. 99-101. Veda Vyasa Sm. III. 63-65. Śankha Sm. XIV. 19-26, XVII 20-34.

¹ एतान्येव व्याधितस्य निष्कृ क्रियायामप्रतिपिद्धीनि भवन्ति । यानि चैव प्रकाराणि तेष्वपि न योजयः ।

Sumantu quoted in Mitākṣarā on Yaj. III. 290.

² तदाह मांसं जीवशरीरं भवेत् वा मांसम् ।

यद्वन्निम्बो वृक्तो वृक्तस्तुभवेत्वानिन्द्रः ।

Yaśastilaka p. 331.

³ Kumārapāla Carita VIII. 68.

⁴ देवद्वयाणि सर्वाणि पटपूतानि योजयेत् ।

निशायां वर्जयेद् भुक्तिमिहामुञ्च च दुखदाम् ।

संधानं पानकं शोत्यं पुण्यं मूलं फलं दलम् ।

जीवयोनि न संश्लाह्म् यज्ञीवैश्यद्रुतम् ।

यदन्तः शुषिरत्रावं हेत्वं नाली नलादि तत् ।

अनन्तं कायिकं प्रायं वस्त्रीकान्दादिं त्यजेत् ।

द्विवलं द्विवलं प्रायशं प्रायेजानवतां गतम् ।

सिन्धयः सकलास्त्याज्याः सापिलाः सकलाश्च याः ।

Yaśastilaka p. 335.

given to a pregnant woman. Food articles cooked in milk, clarified butter, or mixed with honey and curds were given to a child at the time of the ceremony of first feeding. Rice and fruits were given to a boy at the ceremony of putting on the sacred thread.¹ Salt, honey and meat were not taken when one observed a fast.² The Jains considered it meritorious to starve themselves to death.³

From the Uktiyakti prakarana we know that the diet of the people of Banaras in the twelfth century consisted of boiled rice, milk rice, *kṣara* and cakes. Parched grain was eaten and groats were taken with clarified butter and sugar. They were also kneaded into balls. People also liked cakes fried in clarified butter. Some people took meat soup and rice cooked with meat and roasted meat.

The students learnt the art of cooking from the teacher's wife. They cooked their own food from the provisions they got in alms. People, generally, took food after taking bath, worshipping gods and offering food to Brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇas were fond of sweets such as *modakas* and did full justice to the food served in the feasts.⁴

From a south Indian inscription we know that cardamom, *campaka* buds, *khasakbasa*, roots, *dāla*, pepper, spices, cumin, sugar, clarified butter, tamarind, curds, grams, plantains, pulses, husked rice, paddy, oil and salt were the common food articles in the South about 1000 A.D.⁵

From the Yaśastilaka we learn that the daily diet of the rich in the South consisted of white shining rice, broths of golden

¹ मातुलिङ्गनारिकेलं रम्भासर्जूरपूरकम् ।
शस्तानि स्पृथान्यानि नारिङ्गादीनि वापि च ।

Āsv. Sm. Garbhādhāna. 9.

क्षीराञ्जमधुदध्यज्ञं विद्याय प्राशयेच्छान् ।

Āsv. Sm. Annaprāśana 3.

तच्छुलान् सफलान् दद्याद् भिक्षार्थं जननीतु च ।

Āsv. Sm. Upanayana.

² तवणं मधुमासं च क्षाराञ्जवो येन हृयते । उपवासे न भव्यतीत ।

Gobhila Sm. III. 117.

³ अणसण मरण भरिवितवत्ताक दसनइवेवलोहं संपत्तद ।

Bhavisayatta, XII. 4.

⁴ Uktiyaktiprakarana pp. 21, 22, 37, 40, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49.

⁵ South Indian Inscriptions No. 1 of Rājakesari 1000 A.D.

colour, butter, curries, well cooked savoury dishes, thick curds, milk, milk rice, sweets and water perfumed with camphor. The meal of the miserly people consisted of boiled rice grown stale, half cooked gourds, and certain badly cooked vegetables as well as some gruel mixed with plenty of mustards. Their beverage was some alkaline fluid with a taste like that of the water of a salt mine. Some poor people subsisted on *syāmāka* rice and whey.¹

We propose to conclude this chapter with a review of the feasts during this period. From Nalacampū we learn that boiled rice, *mudga*, *modakas*, *asokavarti*, meat, many kinds of vegetables condiments, milk, curds, *ghārikā*, clarified butter, honey, sugar and fruit juices were generally served in feasts.² In such feasts the ground was covered with pieces of cloth, all kinds of utensils were brought together and drinking was indulged in.³ Saline preparations such as *kaccara* and *parpata* were served. Sweet preparations of treacle and *srikhaṇḍa*, many kinds of broths, cakes, *kāsāra*, *subālā* (sweet cakes) and fruits such as *kapittha*, grapes, cocoanuts, mangoes, citrus, and pomegranates were also eaten with great relish. Betel leaves with some spices such as camphor

¹ Yaśastilaka, III. Report of Śāṅkhānaka.

² तस्याच बहुविस्तीर्ण स्वर्ण भोजनपात्र पत्रशंखं शुक्तिं चनाथायामुपविष्टस्यास्यै क्रमेण परिकरमावध्यं गाढमाडीकन्ता स्वस्पान् हारिणोऽन् विशेषानादाय सूपकाराः सूपकाराङ्गनाश्च। तथाहितस्य भक्तम्, मुदगा मुदगान्, भोदकामोदकान् अशोकवर्तिन्योऽशोकवर्तीः। तमासा मांसम् नानाशाकाः शाकानि, अङ्गजनाव्यञ्जनम् अपरास्तु काश्चिदक्षीरा धीरम्, अथारिका अपि चारिका: परिवेषयामुः।

लम्नाः सर्वतोदृश्यन्ते पर्वताः पक्वाभस्य, राशयः शाल्योदनस्य, सूपाः सूपस्य, निर्झराः सर्पिषः, सिंचवो मधुनः, निकरोशकरायाः, स्रोतांसिदधितुष्ययोः, सैलाः शाकानां, निपानानि पाकानाम्, कुल्याः फल रसानाम्, कूटा: कपायाम्लतवज्ज्ञितक्तमबुरोपदंशानाम्।

Nalacampū. p. 97.

³ ततो भोजनभूमि ते क्रमेणात्र सभासदन।

विद्याविभव संभूत विविधाहार हारिणीम् । १२१।

आस्तीर्णवस्त्रां पात्राह्यां सतिरस्करणीपदाम् ।

नानाविधास्वाद्यरत्नां नाट्यवेदीमिव विवायम् । १२२।

आपान भूमिः सज्जेयं तदत्रागम्यतमिति ।

तच्छ्रूत्वा ते यदुः सर्वं तामापानमुवं शुभाम् । १२४।

विविधरत्नवज्यकप्रफुल्लविधाम्बुजाम् ।

विकीर्णानेकं शुभुमामुद्धानलिलिनीगिव । १२५।

व्यापतां मत्तासवापूर्णकलशीभिः पुरुषिभिः ।

तन्वतीभिः सुभाहतृवाहृतपत्रामृतप्रभम् । १२६।

and betel nuts were taken after feasts.¹

We have the account of a royal feast in the Kathākoṣapra-karāṇa (1108 V.S.). The first course, served to king Śrenīka, consisted of fruits such as pomegranates, grapes, and jujube, which could be chewed with teeth. The second course consisted of such fruits as could be sucked such as pieces of sugarcane, dates, oranges, and mangoes. The third course consisted of such well cooked preparations as could be taken by licking. In the fourth course some sweets such as *sevāka*, *modaka*, *phenaka* *ghṛtāpūra* were served. The fifth course consisted of fragrant boiled rice, and the sixth course of broths prepared by mixing many food stuffs. After this the dishes and cups were removed and the king washed his hands in a vessel specially meant for the purpose. The seventh course consisted of preparations of curds. Again these dishes etc. were removed and hands washed. In the end some half boiled milk with sugar, honey and saffron was served.

¹ सलोणं समिद्धं नदेहेविश्वदं वरं सालिभत्तं सुग्रन्थं सुसिद्धं।
तहादेहसुसारं मुग्गायवत्ता नरापावहो जेणभोया विच्चित्ता।
धयदेह नासायचेष्यं पसत्वं नसोपावए किपिभावेणदुत्पं।
पुजोकच्चरा पष्टडा दिनभेयाजयताण कोवन्नएदिवतेया।
वरायस्माणाचार्षस्ताणवाई नरोसोलहुं भोयभूमीहि जाई।
मुणीणं मणिठं गुडं सेयस्वं स्यावित्तए भुजए भोयलंडं।
कसायविला तीवणा तिवसाराण गुडेण पिगाहा जईणपियारा।
सुहासेय मंडाय खंडासुखच्छा तुर्बद्धसिसमग्र भोगाइवच्छा।
गुणावारिया लद्दुआलीरखज्ञा कसारं सुसारं सुहालीमणुज्ञा।
ससत्तीए भत्तीए जोदेहदाया महीमूलसमग्रमित्ता होइराया।
नक्यित्ता सुदक्षामहानालिएरा गुरु भाहुलिगा वरापककसारा।
सुराईहि वहिएहित्त विर्त्त वरंग्रामरीयं सुहादेहत्तं।
सहारंवसायया भवन्नंबा अहोएव माई करेव अउब्बा।
सुसारूण जोदेहए मच्छलोए न छड़तिपासं स्यातस्स भोए।
नरेपेच्छन्नुतं दहीयंपिक्तीरं दिंनिच्छजोदेह ताहीसरीरं।
रसायपएइत्वए जोमणीसं सुहसेवए किमरणां अरेसं।
मुणीणं तहापन्नयाजेहृदिक्षासुकपूरवूवेण पउरेण भिक्षा।
तप्रोतोहि पविज्ञए किमरणां भमतो नहे हिवएसुरविमानं।
सुहावच्चराकोइतालावदाया तुहं पावएदिव वाणी सुवाया।
जहाजेणदत्तंहा तेण पत्तं इमं सुच्चए सिद्धलोएणवृत्तं।
सुपापन्ना कोहवाजत्तमाली कहूसोपावए तत्यसाली।
सिरीलंडकपूरएलाइदिक्षा सुहासिद्धहे पोष्कलाजेण दिक्षा।
भवेतस्स वायाअलीमाणवारी सुहयेण कामोसिरीकन्नपारी।

Bhavisayattakahā. Sandhi. XII. Account of the feast, given by Bhavissa when he got back his wife.

After cleaning his teeth with tooth sticks, and some fragrant powder the king again washed his hands with luke warm water and fragrant powder. It looks like the description of a grand modern feast.¹ A similar account is given in *Vilāsvatikatbā* where pickles prepared with *karira* fruit and *Karamarda*, *vajakas* of many kinds prepared with milk and curds and vegetables such as *kāravella* are also mentioned.² Lastly we may refer to the account of marriage feast given in the *Naiṣadha Carita*. It is mainly based on the imagination of the poet. But it reflects the contemporary conditions in royal households. The food preparations were served in dishes made of emerald. The boiled rice was served hot. It was unbroken, well cooked, white in colour, fragrant and delicious. Each grain was separate from the other. The milk rice was mixed with clarified butter. The

¹ *Kathākoṣa Prakaraṇa* by Jinesvara Sūri, *Sāli Bhadra Katbā* p. 58, Singhī Jain Granthamala.

² वामपासंसिद्धेवी विवृत्तारिया दिव्यवायालाइ उवचतिभंडारिया ।
कण्ठमणि-रुप कन्छोल संपुत्रयं कण्ठव्यथालं कुमस्सवित्थन्नयं ।
दण्डखज्ज्ञर खुडुडिय उत्तरत्तियादिश्व ब्रह्मसोलभवराय संजुत्तिया ।
भूजेविकिरहृत्य पक्षालर्णं सिधुलवर्णेण सहदिज्जएसालर्ण ।
अग्नीटी करीराइ नरवंदयविलियावकक्षादं गज्जरं अहृयं ।
पुण गोहृम सालेहि मुग्माहंवालिहं पिट्ठेहि सज्जयरसचडिय ।
कालावरवद्ध हिगु सुयंकतलियतिविहं पण्ड पडिय ।
संडआमुरियगुलमिट्ठयं बहुपलेहिहं ताहं भजियपेट्ठयं ।
तलियसुयलेहु चन्दकर वाइयणं कासमद्देणसंसिद्धयं रिणणं ।
तिडिसं कच्चरं अंबवंदोइयादिज्जतुठीरिया खंडसजोइया ।
चमतया चूचुचण साइ चमताइयावत्युलोणाओसरिसवीराइया ।
गोहृमा चण्यवल्लायतहृसंगरो बहुपयारोहिनिमवित्तपाचंगरो ।
वडियपद्विडियावेरवडिनिविया हरडइ दाडियो अंबर सराँद्दया ।
कंचणारं करीराइ टक्कारिया फोग्ग सोहृजणो दिन्न वरधारिया ।
तलिय पडउल कंक्कोड कारेलियाचंगकालिण कवकडियदिन्नेलिदा ।
खीरवद घोलवद्दुद्दुष्पदविन्नया पुणपडंति घवलत्त्वमंडया ।
घेउराविव चहुत्तरिय खंडवायाउजाय सुहपाय मंडिया ।
सरससेवसहिया सुहालिया सन्नचूह्य कासारमीलिया ।
वरमुरक्कवडियामुसैक्कया कोकरीसलप्पसिय दुक्किया ।
मुद्ववडय तहुलडु लावणा सिहैकेसरा मोइयामणा ।
खंडखज्जु अट्ठारसं इमर्तकमेण परिविट्ठु उत्तर्म ।
छासिहर्णे खधोलइं पाणइं बहुलइं भत्तरे अईमिट्ठकं ।
सहंसुट्ठिहि मिरएहिखडेहि लरिएहि काढिउदुद्दपरिविट्ठठं ।

From the Introduction to *Apabhrāṁśatrayī* citing examples of Apabhrāṁśa language. pp. 111-12.

Vilāsvatikatbā J. Bha. Ta. II. 147, 8., 202, 205 by Siddhasena Sūri 1123

preparations of curds mixed with black mustard made the party scratch their heads on account of their pungent taste. Tasteful broths were prepared with the flesh of deer, and fish. The preparations were so skilfully made that the party could not distinguish between vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. Vegetable broths, and thick curds with white sugar were also served. Flesh was so dressed that it looked like a *Bimba* fruit. *Vafakas* dropped in milk, and *laḍḍukas* as white as hailstones, sugar dolls, and sweet cakes were some other delicacies. We have already referred to the betel leaves which created a sensation like that of the bite of a scorpion. All this shows that the marriage feast was a feast par excellence.¹

To sum up we notice that the food habits of the people had considerably changed. Their food during the period was not so simple as in the past. They had learnt to make fine sweets from wheat flour and pulses such as *kāsāra*, *pābalikā*, *subālī*, *patrikā*, *kṣīravaṭa*, *idarikā* and *ghārikā* and saline preparations from rice flour and pulses such as *kaccaras* and *parpaṭas*, *pūrikās*, *vṛṣṭikās*, *dhosakas*, and *kaṭakarnas* were some delicious preparations of gram flour in common use. Along with the vegetarian dishes, the *Mānasollāsa* describes a number of fine meat preparations such as *sunṭbakas*, *kavacandī*, *puryāla*, *bhaditraka* and *māṇḍalya*. Among the Tāntrikas and some royal families non-vegetarian diet and drinking was common but a considerable section of society, influenced by the teachings of the Jains, completely avoided meat diet. This change is clearly visible in the account of the feasts. Some of these included no meat preparations. Even in Śrāddha feasts preparation of meat dishes was not considered obligatory, now. Meat eating and drinking was common among the Kṣatriyas, Sūdras and the Tāntrikas. The accounts of the feasts show that a very high standard had been attained in the art of cooking both the vegetarian and the non-vegetarian dishes.

¹ *Naiṣadha* XVI. 66-107.

CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION

Our food habits from times immemorial to the end of the 12th century A.D. are a major reflex of our cultural evolution. In the early stages the Negroid man as a mere fruit procurer lived on fruits, nuts, tubers and the flesh of animals that he hunted and killed. With the Proto-Australoid we come to a period when man produced food for himself, and from the list of fruit and vegetables and other things which he consumed it appears that the Indian Proto-Australoid was no mere barbarian. He had learnt the use of betel leaves and betel nuts and produced many of the fruits the use of which comes down to our period. He was perhaps also the first producer of rice. With the coming of Dravidians we find this cultural evolution going further. He used boiled rice, sour rice gruel, fried barley and some new pulses such as *Māṣa*, *Mudga* and *Masīra*. We find him also frying things in oil and seasoning his meat. Palm juice industry and toddy tapping go back to that early period in our history. We find also the use of some new fruits, vegetables and spices.

In the Indus Valley civilisation we come across the use of wheat, barley, sesamum and brassica. Wheat was ground in mortars with pestles possibly because the people did not know the use of circular grinding stones. They domesticated buffaloes, goats and sheep and probably drank their milk. They used melons, dates, cocoanuts and the flesh of animals, birds and fish. On the basis of food we are unable to decide the race of these people. Their food is different from the food of the Proto-Australoids as also from that of Dravidians, so it is possible that they may have been a different people who entered India before the Aryans.

The food of the early Aryans clearly proves that they were a Northern race. In the Rgveda we find them consuming barley, milk, curds, clarified butter, mutton and beef. There is no mention of either wheat or rice in the Rgveda. But when we come

to the Yajurveda we find the Aryans using wheat, rice as well as many varieties of pulses. The inclusion of these food grains in the Aryan dietary may be explained only by their contact with the people of the Indus Valley culture and also the Dravidians who had been using these articles before the coming of the latter. Oil is not mentioned in the Rgveda but we find its mention in the Atharvaveda as the food of the *Yātudhānas* or *Rākṣasas* which again is indicative of the fact that its use was restricted to non-Aryans. This view is further corroborated by the remark of Vagbhata I, who states that the use of oil contributed largely to the strength of *Daitya* rulers and their capacity to put in hard work. Sugarcane is not mentioned in the Rgveda, and in the earlier works only honey is prescribed as a sweetening ingredient. The products of sugarcane also may have been included in the Aryan menu only after their contact with their predecessors in India who already knew their use.

In the Sūtra period there is an attempt to arrest the speed of these changes.¹ From the prohibitions and taboos found in the Sūtra literature we may guess that the Indian culture was entering a period when it was not only growing selfconscious but also trying to protect itself against foreign contacts and habits by laying down rules for maintaining the purity of food. In the beginning of the period the Śūdras were allowed to cook food under the supervision of the Aryans, though there were some persons called *Niravasita*² who were regarded as unfit to be served in the utensils of an Ārya. Later the view was held that contact with Śūdras defiled food and dining with unworthy people was improper. The food of artisans was prohibited; probably because they were mostly non-Aryans. The use of dark grains such as *Māsa*, beans, garlic, onions, mushroom, turnips etc. was interdicted probably because these were generally consumed by non-

¹ The process of assimilation of non-Aryan elements into the Aryan society by the performance of *Vrātya* sacrifices is clearly referred to. Probably the institution of *Vrata* or vow is also associated with them.

² The out castes who would pollute utensils which might not be used by others are called *niravasita* by Pāṇini. These, most probably included *Cāndālas* to eat whose food was regarded as an unpardonable sin for other castes according to the Pāli texts. Such castes as the blacksmiths, carpenters, weavers, milkmen, washermen were regarded as *aniravasita* i.e. they did not pollute utensils and food could be served to them in the utensils of persons of high castes.

Aryans. There is prohibition against unclean meat. Students and widows were advised to avoid meat preparations. Brāhmaṇas were asked to avoid all intoxicating drinks while the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas were enjoined not to take liquors prepared from cereals. The only concession the Aryans make to popular sentiment is that they now permit the use of oil as a substitute for clarified butter, if the latter could not be had.

In the Jain and Buddhist works we find the food habits as they prevailed in eastern India. Rice and fish were the main items of food. Both the Buddha and Mahāvīra preferred non-violence. They condemned animal sacrifices. But while the Buddha did not insist on his followers conforming to strict vegetarianism and advised them not to take meat preparations if an animal was expressly killed for them, Mahāvīra went a step further. He did not allow his followers to take even those fruits or vegetables in which there was probability of the existence of any living organism. Even water was to be strained before being used for drinking purposes. Food was not to be taken at night for the same reason. Mahāvīra advised Jain monks to avoid rich food.¹ The practice of betel chewing is mentioned in the Jātakas for the first time. It is not mentioned in the Sūtra literature, in the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. This again may be a result of the Aryan contact with the non-Aryans especially the Proto-Australoids. Many varieties of fruits, and fruit syrups and sweets are described in the Buddhist and Jain works and these may have taken the place of meat and wine in the dietary of the Jains. Though prohibited both by the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the use of intoxicating drinks by other sections of society may be presumed from their frequent mention in the Jain canonical works.

Kauṭilya gives a fairly good idea of food habits as they prevailed in the Maurya period. People were vegetarians as well as non-vegetarians. A superintendent of slaughter houses supervised the sale of meat. Fish is mentioned along with vegetables by Kauṭilya probably because it was a common article of food in the eastern parts of India which fact is corroborated by the description of the habits of the people of these parts in the later medical works. The Kṣatriyas and people residing in the hills were gene-

¹ Probably he himself was impressed by the doctrines of the Ājivikas who regarded taking rich food as an impediment in the practice of penances.

rally non-vegetarians. But the influence of Jainism and Buddhism was making itself felt to an increasing extent. According to Magasthenes, Brāhmaṇas generally avoided meat. This influence became deeper in the reign of Aśoka, which is a land mark in the development of the idea of vegetarianism. He prohibited the killing of animals on certain days of the year and forbade wholly the slaughter of certain categories of animals and birds. He criticised also the practice of meat eating on festive occasions and sacrifices.

We know from Kauṭilya that there was great disparity between the standard of living of an Ārya and that of a low caste worker. He wrote "One *prastha* of rice pure and unsplit, one fourth part of *sūpa* and clarified butter or oil equal to one fourth part of *sūpa* will suffice to form one meal of an Ārya. One sixth *prastha* of rice and half the above quantity of clarified butter will form the meal for a man of low caste. Three fourths of the same ration will be the food of women and half of that will be for children."

From Patañjali we know that the Sakas and Yavanas had been included in the category of *aniravasita* Śūdras. Onions were generally used by non-vegetarians probably those who had come from foreign countries. People who took meals in a standing posture are called *abrahmaṇa* by Patañjali probably because it was against the traditional Brahmanical practice.

The epics represent in a general way the conditions as they prevailed in the North-Western half of India in the post-Buddhist period. In the Madhyadeśa the Kṣatriyas continued to be non-vegetarians. The Brāhmaṇas generally took only sanctified meat. The Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas who had no objection to taking meat, were an exception. Actually as we proceed farther from the centres of Buddhism we find greater use of animal food by all sections of society. The Vāhlikas took beef and gruel with parched barley. Drinking to an excess was common even among their women. Rākṣasas are represented as consumers of meat diet ||) and intoxicating drinks. The Vānaras were fond of drinking though they lived mainly on fruit diet.

Influence of the sects preaching Ahimsā may be seen in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Manusmṛti. A spirit of compromise may be detected in the oft-quoted verse from the Manu-

smṛti which states that 'there is no harm in eating meat or drinking intoxicating liquors as it is the natural craving of man but abstaining from them is meritorious.' The Gitā recognizes that the food habits vary with the temperaments of the people.

In the Sunga period we find that there was a revival of *Aśvamedha* and many other sacrifices in which a number of animals must have been slaughtered and consumed. Aśoka's edicts against meat eating might have been responsible for this reaction. We find other orthodox Hindu rulers, the Sātavāhanas, the Pallavas and many others also performing such sacrifices. From medical works we learn that in this period the Indians used more than forty varieties of rice, sixty varieties of fruits including some dry fruits such as almonds and more than one hundred and twenty vegetables. Treating the subject scientifically they give a list of food articles which suit people residing in different regions, as also the articles which one should consume in a particular season. Many new preparations are now mentioned for the first time and perhaps the influence of foreigners, under whom physicians like Caraka were serving, is responsible for the prescription of meat diet almost invariably for every patient. Meat soup is regarded as the most nourishing food, and wines taken in moderation are considered as wholesome as nectar itself. Some new sweets and preparations from fruit juices also came into use; and this richness of food may have been a result of the wealth which was pouring into India from Western countries as a result of the foreign trade during the Kuṣāṇa period.

Dinner of the rich was a grand occasion. Even the order in which dishes were to be served is laid down. The modern practice of listening to sweet music at the time of dinner is found in the Kāśyapa Saṁhitā. Betel chewing and smoking cigars prepared with some fragrant substances were common among the rich. Garlic juice is prescribed in many diseases. A prohibition against taking meals during the eclipse is mentioned for the first time. This belief may have come to us from Central or Western Asia.

In the Gupta period Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism come very near each other in many respects. The Gupta rulers were *Parama Bhāgavatas* i.e. believers in the Bhāgvata religion,

the later developments of which interdicted the use of meat diet. From Fahien's account it appears that vegetarianism had been accepted as the normal way of life. Abstaining from meat was considered meritorious and even some of the Purāṇas lay down that cereals should be used in sacrifices and not animals. Some people who were outside the Aryan social order and those who inhabited certain regions, which were considered outside the Aryan fold relished meat diet. Fruit supply was quite abundant and fruit juices quite popular. But foreign articles of food were gradually finding a way into Indian dietary. Garlic is prescribed as a medicine even for Brāhmaṇas though a way out is suggested by the Bower MSS. according to which a Brāhmaṇa could have full medicinal effect of garlic by using the milk of a cow fed on garlic. *Masūra*, gram, *Koradūṣaka* and *Māja* from part of Indian dietary but they are still treated as exotic and are not prescribed in a Śrāddha.

The rich and luxurious life of the period, is reflected in the variety of dishes prepared from cereals and milk products and in the scenes of drinking depicted in the Ajanta paintings. In the richer sections of society even women drank, for it was believed that this habit heightened their beauty. In south India rich liquors imported from the West were used by the members of royal families, and country wine was drunk by the poor because toddy tapping has been in existence there from times immemorial. Brāhmaṇas and Sramāṇas generally avoided any intoxicating liquors and used fruit syrups instead because they regarded drinking as a sin.

Our history for the period 750-1200 A.D. is rather obscure but it was during these years that the Hunas and Gurjaras became members of the Indian caste system. Many of the Tibetan invaders also perhaps settled down in this country. As a result of all this, we find some of the old tendencies getting arrested and a large section of society, especially the Rājpūts, turning to the use of meat diet. The sons of Hariścandra from the Kṣatriya wife are called *Madhyapāyinab* (indulging in drinks). Among royal households especially, meat diet became so popular that the Mānasollāsa deals mainly with meat preparations in the *An-nabboga* section and describes the various delicacies in detail. The

influence of Tibetan elements is discernible in the teachings of the *Tantrikas* who gave religious sanction to the use of wine and meat and the company of women, and associated pleasure with salvation in their teachings. Among vegetarian foods gram seems to have become, by now, very popular. Someśvara prescribed its use in many preparations, both vegetarian and non-vegetarian. Many new preparations from wheat and rice flour and pulses are mentioned. *Vatakas* of many kinds prepared from *Māṣa* pulse were very popular.

A reaction against meat eating is to be found in the religious movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Western parts of India, where Jainism became so influential that rulers like Kumārapāla and Alhaṇa issued *amarīghoṣapāṇas* i.e. royal proclamations for the non-slaughter of animals. People were punished if they slaughtered animals on certain days of the year. But even here an exception was made in the case of *Purohitas*, who were obviously habitual users of meat diet. Rājpūts, too, may have largely continued eating meat. Gradually, however, the influence of these humanitarian movements started by Kings like Kumārapāla changed considerably the food habits of large sections of people in Rājasthān and Gujarat.

The vegetable preparations mentioned in Jain works and the non-vegetable dishes described in the Mānasollāsa show a high development in the art of cooking. The account of the marriage feast given in Naiṣadha Carita also shows that some people were expert in preparing excellent dishes. The members of the marriage party could not distinguish between the vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. All this must have been done by the intermixture of various ingredients used and by the skill of dressing them.

As in history, so also in food habits, we see two principles at work, the principle of continuity and the principle of change. Though we may remark that 'change itself is a continuous process and even a static continuity must yield to gradual change so long as it is not overcome by complete stagnation and death.'¹ Changes in our food habits come but without there being any serious break with the past, and no one factor can be held res-

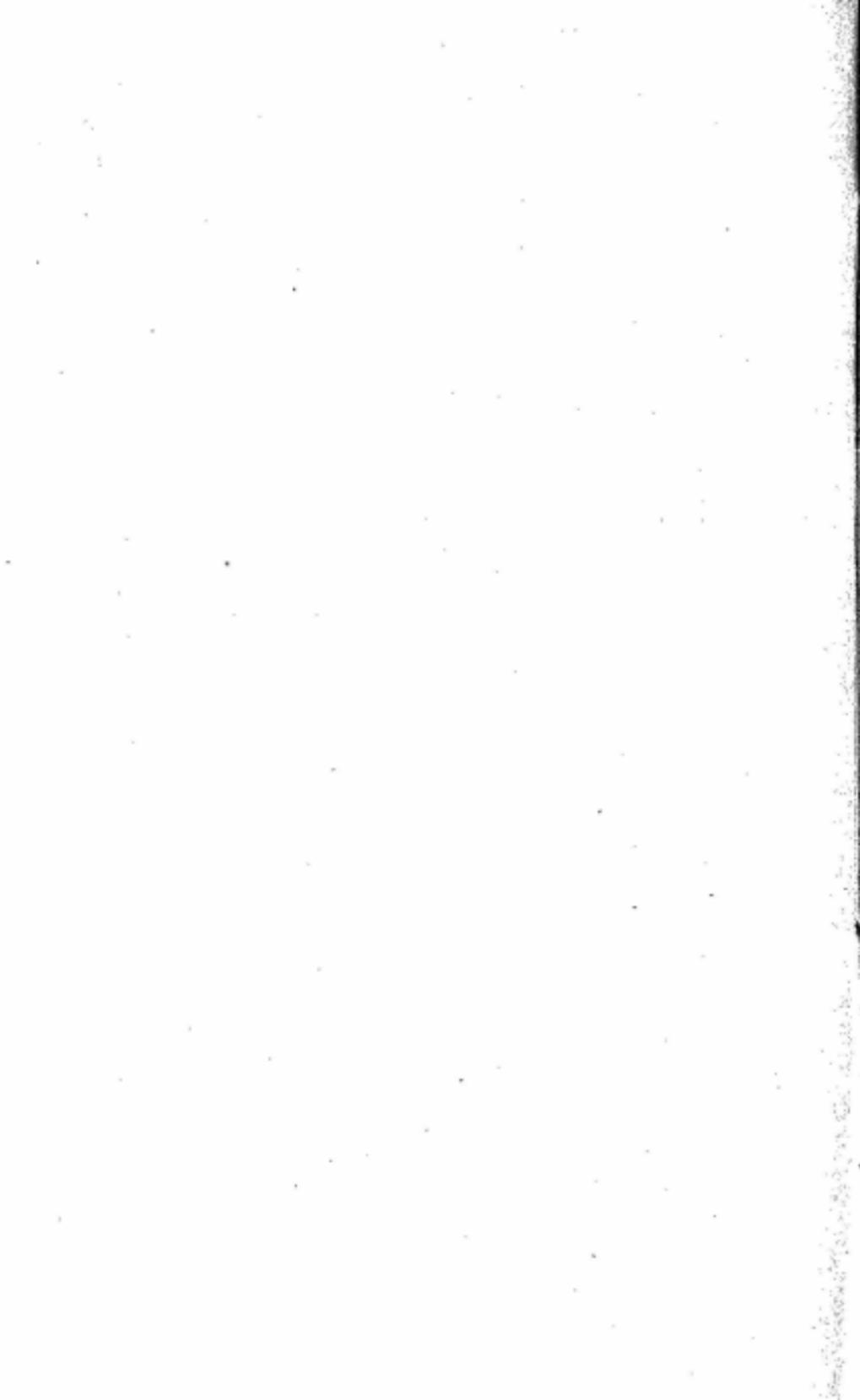
¹ Sri Jawahar Lal Nehru, Indian Inheritance, Vol. III. p. 86.

ponsible for shaping the manifold currents in this process. The fusion of the Aryans with the non-Aryans resulted in the evolution of a diet which was relished by all irrespective of caste or creed consideration. But in this diet there were as many variations as in our culture. The use of garlic and onions was eschewed by the higher castes for centuries and even now some sections of Hindu society do not consume them. Their popularity in North Western India was obviously due to the continued influence of foreign elements. Religious rules disallowed the use of wine for Brāhmaṇas but it remained popular enough with Kṣattriyas and other sections of society. Variety of food habits resulted also from geographical factors. No royal order or religious prohibition could prevent the use of rice and fish in Eastern or Southern and of wheat in North-Western India, nor could the food of the rich and the poor have been the same. We know from the Mahābhārata that the rich enjoyed meat preparations, the people of the middle classes relished articles cooked in clarified butter and the poor were satisfied with food articles cooked in oil. Food varied also on account of the religious ideals that the people entertained. While Buddhism, Jainism and the orders of rulers like Aśoka and Kumārapāla turned people to vegetarianism, the influence of Vedic religion, primarily and later on the influx of many foreign tribes made them non-vegetarians. But even in all this diversity we can perhaps see a general movement towards vegetarianism,¹ because Indians have generally felt like Mahatma Gandhi that 'abstemiousness from intoxicating drinks and drugs and from all kinds of foods, especially meat is undoubtedly a great aid to the evolution of the spirit, though,² it is by no means an end in itself.'³

¹ This fact is in conformity with the evolutionary trends of Indian thought and culture. A non-vegetarian or rather a mixed diet is the normal feature in the beginning. Later on the use of meat became restricted. People, who used it, had to find pleas for its use or be apologetic about it and some sections of society gave up meat diet altogether.

² The original has 'but' instead of 'though.'

³ Selections from Gandhi—Ahmedabad, p. 252.



APPENDIX I

HISTORY OF FRYING IN ANCIENT INDIA
(Upto c. 500 A.D.)

Some scholars are of opinion that frying was introduced into India by the Muslims. In this short note it is proposed to examine the available evidence with a view to finding out how far the assertion is based on facts.

The early Jain canonical works which in their present form were compiled in the fifth century A.D. assign a separate name for all the fried articles and call them *supakvam*.¹ By way of illustration the commentators mention two sweets *gbṛtāpūra* and *kbajjakas*.² Among the non-vegetarian preparations they distinctly mention fried (*talita*) meat.³

Suśruta (latest in the fourth century A.D.) calls articles fried in clarified butter or oil *gbṛta tīla pakvāpī*⁴ and mentions many sweets prepared by frying such as *gbṛtāpūra*, *madbusīrṣaka* and *pbenakas*.⁵ Fried meat is called *tīla-siddhamāṃsa*⁶ or *parisuska māṃsa*.⁷ In the beginning of the fourth century the author of Āngavijjā names a number of articles of food such as *morep-daka*, *śaśkuli*, *pāpa*, *pbenaka*, *utkārikā* and *dīvalikā*⁸ which are made by frying even to this day.

Caraka (1st century A.D.) in his medical treatise calls fried articles *snebasiddhābī*.⁹ He mentions almost all the articles named above. The preparation of *śaśkuli*, which was a cake of rice flour mixed with sesamum, fried in ghee, is referred to by Patañjali¹⁰ (c. 150 B.C.). *Apūpas* and *vāṭaka* are mentioned in the Dharmasūtras (B.C. 600—B.C. 300).¹¹

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 78, f.n.

² *ibid.*, p. 78, f.n.

³ *ibid.*, p. 65, f.n.

⁴ Suśruta, Su. 46, Bhakṣyavarga.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Suśruta, Su. 46, 357.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Āngavijjā, p. 182.

⁹ Caraka, Su. 27, 269.

¹⁰ Patañjali I. 1.47.

¹¹ F.D.A.I., p. 37, f.n. 3.

Pāṇini (c. 500 B.C.) mentions two 'sweet preparations' *Apūpa*¹ and *samīyava*² which imply a full acquaintance with the process of frying. The history of *Apūpa* goes back to the time of the Rg-veda (c. 1500 B.C.).³ But *Apūpa* also means an ordinary cake baked on charcoals or in an oven. In this connection it may be mentioned that in the Rg-veda the word *ghṛtavantam*⁴ and in the Atharvaveda the epithet *madbumān*⁵ are used with *Apūpa* which imply that clarified butter and honey were used in its preparation. As such it is clear that in both these works the word *apūpa* means a sweet cake of rice or barley meal fried in ghee on a slow fire and not ordinary cakes in which no frying is required.

In view of the above evidence there remains no ground for any doubt about the statement that the Indians were fully acquainted with the process of frying from the earliest times and there seems no justification for holding the view that the process of frying was introduced into India by the Muslims.

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 36, f.n. 1.

² F.D.A.I., p. 41, f.n. 4.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 9 and 10.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 1.

APPENDIX II

SUGAR INDUSTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA

Ikṣu, the common word for sugar-cane is not mentioned in the Rg-veda but Sri B. Majumdar is of opinion that *kusara*¹ refers to sugarcane. *Ikṣu* is, however, mentioned in all the Samhitās of the Yajurveda² and chewing of sugarcane is referred to in the Atharvaveda.³ But there is no mention of *guḍa* and the sweetening ingredient seems to have been honey. It is possible that the process of making *guḍa* was known to the Proto-Australoids and the Aryans learnt it from them.⁴

By the time of the Sūtras *guḍa* loses its exotic nature. It is used in all the domestic rituals.⁵ Pāṇini mentions not only *guḍa*⁶ but also *Phāṇita*⁷ (inspissated juice of sugarcane boiled down to thick consistency, Hindi—*rāb*) and *Sarkarā*⁸ (sugar). He derives the word *Gaṇḍa* from *guḍa* which makes us infer that the industry probably first developed mostly in Bengal where sugarcane was grown. In the early Buddhist canonical works the use of *guḍa* is permitted⁹ to the followers of the Buddha and it is stated that rice meal and ashes were used in preparing it.¹⁰

The Europeans were ignorant of sugarcane production. Alexander was surprised to see reeds from which 'the barbarians across the Indus' obtained all the honey they wanted.¹¹ Kautilya mentions not only *phāṇita* and *guḍa* but also sugarcandy (*mat-syandikā*), raw sugar (*khaṇḍa*) and granulated sugar (*sarkarā*).¹² In the epics we come across *sarkarā*¹³ as well as sweets prepared both from *guḍa*¹⁴ and *khaṇḍa*.¹⁵ But in the ritual *guḍa* continued to be used because in the words of Prof. J.C. Ray 'the old in

¹ RV. I., 191. 3. See F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 4.

² F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 5.

³ Av. I., 34.5. See F.D.A.I., p. 19, f.n. 6.

⁴ F.D.A.I., p. 3.

⁵,⁷ F.D.A.I., p. 41.

⁸ India as known to Pāṇini, p. 109.

⁹,¹⁰ F.D.A.I., p. 68, f.n. 5 and 6.

¹¹,¹² F.D.A.I., p. 91, f.n. 7.

¹³ F.D.A.I., p. 112, f.n. 4.

¹⁴ F.D.A.I., p. 112, f.n. 3.

¹⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 112, f.n. 6.

all countries hold their sway even when better substitutes are known.¹

In the time of Caraka two varieties of sugar-cane *Pauṇḍraka* and *Vamīsaka*² were known. Of these the former was considered better than the latter.³ The *Pauṇḍraka* variety was probably grown in Pundra country (North Bengal). This is also evident from the statement of Raviṣeṇa that the *Pauṇḍraka* variety was grown near Rajagṛha.⁴ Caraka describes all the products mentioned by Kauṭilya.⁵ He states that the coolness of these substances increases with the increase in their whiteness.⁶ Thus according to him *Sarkarā* is the coolest of all. He also mentions sugars prepared from *yavāsa* (a kind of grass) and honey.⁷

Kāśyapa mentions a third variety of sugarcane and calls it *Sāmudra* which he considers inferior to the other two.⁸ In the Suśruta Samhitā the number of varieties of sugar-cane reaches twelve⁹ but the most famous varieties were probably only five which have been mentioned by Vāgbhaṭa I.¹⁰ Suśruta also mentions sugar prepared from *Madbhūka* flowers.¹¹ In the *Harsacarita* a distinction is made between red (*pāṭala*) and white (*karka*) sugar,¹² which shows that the industry had fully developed early in the seventh century and all the products of sugarcane were in use. The Persian and the English words for sugar *kand* and *candy* seem to be derivations of the Sanskrit word *khanḍa*. In view of the above facts it may not be unjustifiable to conclude this account with the words of Watt 'that the world is indebted to India'¹³ for this industry.

¹ 'Sugar Industry in India' by Prof. J. C. Ray in the Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. IV. No. 4. (1918).

² Caraka, Su. 27.237.

³ *ibid.*

⁴ Jain Padma Purāṇa, Ch. II.

⁵ Caraka, Su. 27. 237-241.

⁶ Caraka, Su. 27.239.

⁷ Caraka, Su. 27. 240-241.

⁸ F.D.A.I., p. 144, f.n. 1.

⁹ F.D.A.I., p. 143, f.n. 8.

¹⁰ F.D.A.I., p. 178, f.n. 8.

¹¹ F.D.A.I., p. 144, f.n. 5.

¹² F.D.A.I., p. 179, f.n. 2.

¹³ Dic. of Eco. Products of India, Vol. VI (ii), pp. 28-36.

APPENDIX III
BETEL CHEWING IN ANCIENT INDIA

On the basis of philological studies scholars¹ think that the two words *tāmbūla* (betel leaves) and *guvāka* (areca nut) are of Austric origin hence it seems likely that the Proto-Australoids first used these articles. Another word *Pāga* (areca nut) seems to be of Dravidian origin. There are two possibilities either the custom originated on the coasts of Southern India or it must have been imported from the East Indian Archipelago where the custom is prevalent to this day. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products of India (Vol. VI(i) pp. 247-256) the betel leaf is probably a native of Java. Sri J.S. Pade thinks that the word *nāgavalli* used for a betel leaf may signify the creeper growing in the country of elephants and serpents and perhaps refers to South India, the home of these creatures.² But the problem remains unsolved for want of evidence.

There is no reference to *tāmbūla* in the Vedic *Samhitās*, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras. Even the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya make no mention of it. This conclusively proves that the custom was not prevalent among the Vedic Aryans.

According to Dr. K.A.N. Sastri the habit of eating betel leaves with lime and areca nut perhaps came into use after the Sangam Age.³ But the custom may be prior to 200 B.C. as there are references to it in some of the early Buddhist and Jain works.⁴

Kauṭilya mentions betel nut⁵ but does not refer to the custom of betel chewing. Caraka, Kāśyapa and Suśruta refer to the practice and Caraka mentions all the ingredients used in the

¹ F.D.A.I., pp. 2-3.

Cf. 'The Romance of Betel chewing in Poison Damsels and other Essays' by N.M. Penzer London, 1952, p. 189 quoted by Sri J.S. Pade.

² Introduction to *Tāmbūla Mañjari* Journal of Oriental Institute (M.S. University Baroda Oriental Series), Vol. VII, 1957-58.

³ A History of South India, p. 130.

⁴ Jatakas No. 51 and 52. Visuddhimagga, p. 314. Dhammapada Athakathā, p. 49. Aupapātika Sūtra, Section 38, p. 50.

⁵ F.D.A.I., p. 96, f.n. 1.

preparation of betel leaves such as areca nut, cubeb-pepper, camphor, cloves, nutmegs and cardamom.¹

In the Gupta period the custom seems to have become common as it is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra*, the *Bṛhatśārīhitā*, the medical treatises and the literary works of the period.²

In the Post—Gupta period the practice is referred to by Alberuni and in the *Kuṭṭāṇimatam* and most of the literary works of the period.³ It is also mentioned in the later *Smṛtis*.⁴

The custom may be a Tāntric one. Sri J.S. Pade thinks that it was prevalent among the Śūdras from the earliest times but was adopted by the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas when they gave up Vedic Samskāras and were initiated by the Brāhmaṇas into the Tāntric cult.⁵ According to Sri Pade, since then the use of *Tāmbūla* became popular among all sections of the Hindu society.

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 162, f.n. 5.

² F.D.A.I., p. 196, f.n. 3 to 5.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 232, f.n. 5 and p. 233, f.n. 1 and 2.

⁴ Smṛtis of Laghuḥārīta, Laghu Āśvalāyana and Auśānasa.

⁵ See p. 253, f.n. (2).

APPENDIX IV
SMOKING IN ANCIENT INDIA

Before writing on this subject I should like to make it clear that the word smoking is not used here in the restricted and limited sense which it has acquired in our times for the smoking of tobacco, as we know that it was introduced into India by the Portuguese about 1600 A.D. In our ancient past we had other means and better ingredients, far more fragrant and health-giving, which gave the fullest satisfaction to the smoker not only without injuring his health but also improving it. Almost all the ancient Indian medical works give recipes of ingredients used in smoking.¹ In Bāṇa's Kādambarī, King Sūdraka is represented as smoking a fragrant cigar-like preparation.² Dāmodaragupta who wrote about a century later, gives us a picture of a lady who takes her seat near her lover after enjoying a smoke of the same kind.³

Of *Dhūmavartis*, as these cigar-like preparations are called in our books, the medical works mention five types :—the ordinary *Prāyogikī* which was meant for daily use and four others which were used to cure certain ailments.⁴ The *Prāyogikivarti* consisted of aromatic ingredients like cardamom, saffron, sandal wood, aloewood and *usīra*. To these were added resin and the nicely cut thin barks of trees like the banyan and the *pipal* all of which are known to burn very quickly and have some fragrance of their own. The resulting mixture was then ground finely, made into a paste and coated on a hollow reed nearly six inches long which when dried had the thickness of a thumb. The reed was removed when dried and the resulting cigar like *varti* was

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 163, f.n. 3 and p. 197, f.n. 3, Kāshyapa Kalpa Dhūpa 4. Suśruta Cikitsā 40. 1-18.

Ast. Hrd. Su. 21. 13-15.

² F.D.A.I., p. 197, f.n. 1.

³ F.D.A.I., p. 197, f.n. 3.

⁴ धूः पञ्चविंशी भवति तथा प्रायोगिकः सैंहिको, वैरेचनिकः, काशज्ज्वलो, वामनीय-
द्वचेति ।

Suśruta Cikitsā 40. 3.

smeared with clarified butter before use. It yielded one of the most agreeable smokes.¹

Many are the virtues ascribed to smoking. It soothed the nerves, put the smoker in a cheerful mood, strengthened his teeth and hair and sweetened his breath. It cured also cough, asthma, headache, eyesore, bad throat, pain in the ear, laziness and many other diseases caused by imbalance of wind and phlegm.² Would not even the advertiser of some modern brand of a cigar envy the description of the *Dhūmavarti* smoked by Sūdraka and his contemporaries.

Some modern people are chain smokers. There might have been many such in ancient India for one medical writer found it necessary to state that smoking, indulged in excessively or at wrong times could lead to ill health.³ It was good to smoke after bath, meals, cleaning the teeth, and getting up from bed.⁴ It was good also to have this fragrant smoke after vomiting, sneezing, application of collyrium or smelling a snuff powder.⁵ It was prescribed that a person who has taken a purgative, who has been poisoned, a pregnant woman, a person in grief or a person very tired or intoxicated, one who has kept awake all night or an unconscious person should avoid smoking. Smoking was also to be avoided after the taking of liquor, milk, oils, honey or rice with curds. One should also avoid smoking when one is in anger, when one's throat is dry, or when one is suffering from diseases like diphtheria.⁶

The proper method of smoking is also prescribed. A person while smoking should sit with his body erect and in a comfortable position. He should take three puffs at a time.⁷ He should inhale the smoke with his mouth and nostrils but should exhale it only through the nostrils.⁸

¹ F.D.A.I., p. 163, f.n. 3. C.f. Suśruta Cikitsā 40.3.
Ast. Hrd. Su. 21. 13-15.

² Caraka. Su. 5. 25-31. Suśruta Cikitsā 40.15-16.

³ Caraka. Su. 5. 36-37.

⁴ Caraka. Su. 5. 36.

⁵ Caraka. Su. 5. 34-35.

⁶ Caraka. Su. 5. 39-44.

⁷ Ibid. Su. 5. 46-47. Suśruta Cikitsā 40.18.

⁸ Suśruta Cikitsā 40.7.

It is difficult to say when the practice of smoking first started in India. It is not found in the Vedic literature and the Smṛtis. The earliest references are found in the medical works, the compilation of some of which took place at the courts of foreign rulers like Kaniṣka. So it is not unlikely that the type of smoking referred to in these pages was also a foreign innovation and that later on the Indians took quite naturally and quickly to tobacco smoking also because of their earlier habits. In the vicinity of the Hindukush mountain from where probably smoking reached India, smoking of the type described, is even now regarded as something having almost mystic properties which can bring about a state of trance. After such a smoke, the medium is believed to get into touch with spirits and the supernatual world.¹

¹ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, New York, 1951.

APPENDIX V

A SHORT NOTE ON 'Sthāli' (a cooking pot)

Sthāli is one of the utensils which Indians have been using at least since the time of the Yajurveda.¹ Dr. B.N. Puri has in his recent publication 'India in the time of Patañjali' p. 100 explained the word as a 'a big earthen dish or pan now known as *thāli*'. It would be seen from the following references that the word all along has the sense of a cooking utensil. In the Mānasollāsa it is mentioned at two places and at both the places it is used for cooking meat.² In the Amarakośa *sthāli* is given as a synonym of *pībhara* and *ukbā* which are both cooking utensils.³

In the Daśakumāra-carita a girl asks her companions to bring a *sthāli* from the market for cooking rice for a guest.⁴ In the Nalapākadarpaṇa a *sthāli* is used for boiling rice.⁵ In the epics a *sthāli* is said to have a neck and is used for cooking vegetables and other food articles and storing liquids such as curds.⁶

¹ Vaj. Sam. XIX. 27, 86. Av. VIII. 6.17.

² सुतप्ते च धृते पश्चाल्लक्षुनं हिङ्गना सह ।
प्रक्षिप्य संस्कृतं मांसं तस्यां स्थाल्यां प्रवेशयेत् ।
पिहितं च ततः कुर्यात् किञ्चित्कालं प्रतीक्षय च ।
उत्तारयेत्तातः सिद्ध ।.....

Manas. III. 1460.61.

अनेनैव प्रकारेण जर्जीरीकृत्य स्थाप्तकान् ।
स्थाल्यामम्लेन संयोज्य पाचयेद्विगुनासह ।

Manas. III. 1466.

³ विठरः स्थाल्युक्ताकुण्डम् कलशस्तुत्रिपुदयोः ।

Amar. III. 9.31.

⁴ भितपचांस्यालीमुभेशारावे चाहूर इति ।

Daśakumāracarita VI. p. 423.

⁵ क्षालयेत्तान् वधः सम्यग्नीषद्वृणेन बारिणा ।
शुद्धोदकं पुनःस्थाल्यां पूरयेत्तात्रिभागिकम् ।
चुल्यामारोपयेत् स्थालीं पूरितां पाककोविदः ।

Nalapakadarpaṇa. p. 6.

⁶ स्थाल्यः कण्ठेऽप्यसंलग्नं शाकान्नं वीक्ष्यकेशवः ।

Mbh. Van. 263, 24.

पात्रीणां च सहस्राणि स्थालीनां नियुतानिच ।
त्पर्वदानि च पात्राणि शातकुम्भमयानि व ।
स्थाल्यः कुम्भः करण्यश्च दधि पूर्णाः सुसंस्कृताः ।

Ram. Ay. 91. 71-72.

In the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Sūtras the word *sthālipāka* has very often been used and means any food article cooked in a *sthāli*.¹

In view of all these references in the classical as well as Vedic literature it seems almost certain that *sthāli* has the sense of a cooking utensil even in Patañjali. This interpretation is also supported by the phrase *sthālipulakanyāya* which means just as we know about the quality of rice cooked in a *sthāli* by taking out one grain of boiled rice from it so do we judge the whole by its part.

¹ यस्या मेवस्यालयां प्रायणीयं निर्वपेत्स्यामुदयनीयं निर्वपेत् ।

Ait. Bra. I. 11.

अथाभिप्रातरेव स्थालीपाकाकृताज्यं षेषित्वा स्थालीपाकस्योपचारं चुहोत्यन्वये...
स्वाहेति हुत्वोदृत्य प्राशनाति..... ।

Brhad. Up. VI. 4.19.

उत्पूतेन नवनीतेनानुत्पूतेन वा सर्पिषा स्थालीपाकमभिधार्य एक स्यालयां मेक्षणमासाद्य
स्थालीपाकमासाद्यति ।

Ap. Sr. Su. I. 3. 7.8.

अस्तमिते स्थालीपाकं अपयित्वैकपालं अवप्नुतः स्यात् ।

Asv. Gr. Su. II. 1.5.

कृत्सरः स्थालीपाकः ।

Kbadir. Gr. Su. II. 226.

तिलमूद्ग मिश्र इति स्थालीपाकं अपयित्वा ।

Par. Gr. Su. I. 15.4.

आज्यं स्थालीपाकीयान् ग्रीहीन् वा यवान् वा चरस्थाली मेक्षणं सुवमनुशुप्ता अपद्धतिः ।

Gobhila Gr. Su. I. 5.20.

APPENDIX VI

NOTES ABOUT THE ANTIQUITY OF SOME
ARTICLES OF FOOD IN INDIA

A. Cereals.

1. *Aksphaka*. (Knod Kuttu)—The earliest mention is in the Sūtra Kṛtāṅga.
2. *Anu or Cinaka*. (Panicum Miliaceum, Hindi—Cinā)—The Yajurveda and the early Buddhist works mention it. The name Cinaka suggests its foreign origin. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it was imported from Egypt or Arabia.
3. *Gavidbhukā*. (Corn Lacryma, Hindi—Garabedua)—The Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda show that it was used as a food grain. According to Āpastamba it was an uncultivated grain, hence it seems indigenous.
4. *Godbhāma*. (Triticum vulgare, Hindi—Gebun)—De Candolle thinks that wheat was grown in Mesopotamia from Pre-historic times. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal was of opinion that it was imported from Persia as the Sanskrit word *Godbhāma* seems to be a modification of the Persian word *Gandum*. But Sylvan Levy thinks that the Aryans came into India with a knowledge of wheat. However, as the word *Godbhāma* is not mentioned in the Rg-veda it seems that it was not the staple food grain of the Aryans. Vevilov came to the conclusion that wheat originated from a centre near the Punjab. It has been identified in the Indus valley as well as Nevda Toli which shows that it has been in use from about 2500 B.C. if not earlier. But it continued to be exotic with the Aryans for a long time. In the Sūtras, the daily offerings are made with rice and barley and not wheat. Even the medical treatise of Caraka mentions two varieties of wheat among the inferior cereals. Even Dhanvantari calls it the food of the Mlechhas. But it seems to have become popular by the time of Kṣirasvāmi.
5. *Hāyana*. A red variety of rice mentioned in the Yajurveda.
6. *Jārpa*. (Holcus Sorghum, Hindi—Juār)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it was imported from Tropical Africa.

The medical works of Caraka, Bhela and Kāsyapa mention it for the first time. The name *Yāvanāla* makes it probable that it may have been introduced by the Greeks. (For details please see Dr. Gode's article).

7. *Kāngū*. (*Setaria italica* Hindi—*Kanganī*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is probably indigenous. The Samhitās of the Yajurveda mention *Priyangū*. A dark variety with large grains is called *Varaka* (*Phraseolus Trilobus*) by Kauṭilya. The Suśruta mentions four varieties black, red, yellow and white. Probably the brown variety is called *Kuruvinda* by Caraka.

8. *Kodrava*. (*Paspalum scorbiculatum*, Hindi—*Kodon*)—Kauṭilya mentions it among the grains of the first crop. It was considered a sacred grain hence it seems to be indigenous. A wild variety of *Kodrava* is called *Dāraka* by Kauṭilya and *Uddālaka* by Caraka.

9. *Nīvāra*. (Wild rice, Hindi—*Tinnī*)—It is a *tr̥ṇa dbānya* and is mentioned in the Yajurveda. Apastamba calls it an uncultivated grain and it is considered a sacred grain hence it seems to be indigenous. Two varieties *dārunivāra* and *Praśāntikā* are mentioned.

10. *Rālaka*. (*Mälakanganī* in Hindi)—Two varieties, one black and the other yellow, are mentioned in the Āṅgavijjā.

11. *Sāli*. (*Oryza sativa*, Hindi—*Cāval*)—a kind of rice growing in winter which is replanted and called *Jadaban*. It is mentioned by Pāṇini.

12. *Sāstika*. (Hindi—*Sāthī*)—A variety of rice mentioned by Pāṇini which took sixty days to ripen. It is probably the *āśubdānya* of the Yajurveda.

13. *Syāmāka*. (*Panicum frumentaceum*, Hindi—*Samā*)—It is mentioned in the Samhitās of the Yajurveda. Apastamba calls it an uncultivated grain hence it seems to be indigenous. It was used by hermits. We come across two varieties *Rāja-syāmāka* and *Ambbañ-Syāmāka* or *toya syāmāka*. A third variety *Hasti-syāmāka* is mentioned by Vagbhata I.

14. *Upavāka*. (*Wrightia antidysenterica*, Hindi—*Indrayava*)—At the time of the compilation of the Yajurveda it was used in preparing a gruel. It is later called *Indrayava* and *Kaliṅga*. The latter name shows that it was mainly grown in Kaliṅga (Orissa region).

15. *Vepuyava*. (Seeds of bamboo, Hindi-*Bāns ke bija*)—have been used as food from the time of Āpastamba who calls it an uncultivated food grain.

16. *Vribi*. (*Oryza sativa*, Hindi-*Cāval*)—De Condelle thought the grain to have originated in South India. Vevilov also holds more or less a similar view. Dr. S.K. Chatterji thinks that the word *Vribi* has Iranian affinities but the common word for rice *Cāval* in Indo-Aryan languages might be very well connected with the Kolor Munda root ‘Jom’ to eat. The word ‘*tandula*’ for husked rice also seems to be of Austric origin. The probability is that it was introduced by the Proto-Australoids. There is no definite evidence to show that it was grown in the Indus valley and the word is not mentioned in the Rg-veda but is mentioned in the Yajurveda. The grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevda Toli and rice husk was used in mud plaster at Hastināpur. The Greek word *Oryza* is from the Tamil word *Arisi* and we know that it was exported to Babylon in the 6th century B.C. It had become the staple food of the Indians before the beginning of the Christian era. Its wide popularity is evident from a number of varieties mentioned in the Saṁhitās of Caraka and Suśruta. Suśruta gives the following 39 varieties of rice :—

I—*Sāli* rice

1. <i>Lobita Sāli</i>	10. <i>Sitabbiruka</i>
2. <i>Kalama</i>	11. <i>Rodrapuspaka</i>
3. <i>Kardamaka</i>	12. <i>Dīrgbañuka</i>
4. <i>Pāṇḍuka</i>	13. <i>Kāñcanaka</i>
5. <i>Sugandhaka</i>	14. <i>Mahīsa</i>
6. <i>Sakunābīta</i>	15. <i>Mahāśūka</i>
7. <i>Puspāṇḍaka</i>	16. <i>Hāyanaka</i>
8. <i>Pundarika</i>	17. <i>Dūṣaka</i>
9. <i>Mabāśāli</i>	18. <i>Mabādūṣaka</i>

II—*Vribi* rice

19. <i>Kṛṣṇavrihi</i>	24. <i>Tvaritaka</i>
20. <i>Sālāmukha</i>	25. <i>Kukkuṭapāṇḍaka</i>
21. <i>Jarumukha</i>	26. <i>Pārāvataka</i>
22. <i>Nandimukha</i>	27. <i>Pāṭala</i>
23. <i>Lāvāksaka</i>	

III—*Saṣṭika rice*

28. <i>Saṣṭika</i>	34. <i>Asana</i>
29. <i>Kāṅguka</i>	35. <i>Puspaka</i>
30. <i>Mukandaka</i>	36. <i>Mabāṣaṣṭika</i>
31. <i>Pitaka</i>	37. <i>Cūrṇaka</i>
32. <i>Pramodaka</i>	38. <i>Kuravāka</i>
33. <i>Kākalaka</i>	39. <i>Kedāra</i>

For the varieties of rice given by Caraka please see F.D.A.I., p. 134.

17. *Yava*. (*Hordeum Vulgare*, Hindi-*Jau*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it has been grown in India from very remote times. It has been identified in the Indus valley and was the staple food grain of the R̥gvedic Aryans. A wild variety is mentioned by Pāṇini and Pliny. Kauṭilya calls it *Yavaka* probably it may be identified with oats. A large variety is called *atiyava* by Suśruta. Unripe green grains of barley are called *tokma*.

B. Pulses.

1. *Āḍbhakī*. (*Cajanus indicus*, Hindi-*Arahār*)—The grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevda Toli (1200 B.C.) but is mentioned for the first time by Caraka. It is also called *Tuvari*. The Mānasollāsa calls the dark variety *Kṛṣṇāḍbhakī*.

2. *Ālisāṇḍaga* (a variety of chickpea, Hindi-*māṭar*)—According to Sylvan Levi it was a grain which was grown in Alexandria and was introduced into India after Alexander's invasion. Caraka and early Jain canonical works mention it.

3. *Caṇaka*. (*Cicer arietinum*, Hindi-*cañā*)—Dr. G. P. Majumdar on the basis of Mahidhara has interpreted *Khalva*, which occurs in the Yajurveda, as *Caṇaka*. On the other hand Dr. P. K. Gode is of opinion that the grain was probably introduced into the Panjab by the Greeks sometime between (B.C. 190—A.D. 20). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from the south of the Caucasus or of the Caspian Sea. It was grown in Egypt from very early times. The earliest mention in Indian literature is in the *Uttarakānda* of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Baudh. Gr. Sesa. Sūtra. In the time of Amaraśiṁha it was mainly used as food for horses. Dr. Sankalia thinks that the grain has been identified at Maheshwar Nevda Toli (1200 B.C.). If it be a fact the theory of Dr. Gode cannot hold water.

4. *Garmut*. (Wild bean, Hindi—*Kulathī*)—is mentioned in the Samhitas of the Yajurveda and was used as a pulse.

5. *Kalāya*. (Pisum arvens, Hindi—*Matar*)—Charred Peas from Harappa are thought to be of a cultivated variety. The grain has also been discovered at Maheshwar Nevda Toli (1200 B.C.). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the grain originated from Italy but existed in India before the arrival of the Aryans. It is mentioned in early Buddhist literature and Kauṭilya. We come across three varieties *Satīna*, *Khaṇḍikā* and *Hareṇu*. *Khaṇḍikā* is also called *Tripuṭaka* (Hindi—*Khesari*). Someśvara calls it *Vaffāṇaka*.

6. *Kulattha*. (Delichos biflorus, Hindi—*Kulathī*)—The word '*Khalakenla*' is mentioned in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad. It is interpreted as *Kulattha* by Dr. G.P. Majumdar. Probably *Garmut* also means *Kulattha* as the former is regarded as an uncultivated grain by Āpastamba. Hence it seems to be indigenous. Pāṇini mentions *Kulattha* for the first time. Suśruta also mentions a wild variety, *vanya Kulattha*.

7. *Makusṭha*. (Phaseolus aconitifolius, Hindi—*Mothī*)—Āpastamba probably calls it *Mārkataka* which was an uncultivated grain. The earliest mention of *Makusṭha* is in the Tait. Bra. It is also called *Vana mudga*.

8. *Māṣa*. (Phaseolus Radiatus, Hindi—*Urad*)—It has been discovered at Maheshwar Nevda Toli (1200 B.C.) and has been mentioned in the Yajurveda. A taboo against its use is found in the Samhitās which makes us conclude that it was originally used by non-Aryans. Suśruta mentions a wild variety, *aranya māṣa*. Kṣirasvāmī interprets *Kulmāṣa* in the sense of an inferior variety of *Māṣa* in addition to the usual meaning of the word, a gruel.

9. *Masūra*. (Lens esculenta, Hindi—*Masūra*)—It has been in use from the time of the Yajurveda. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from Egypt or Europe. The prohibition against its use in a *Srāddha* shows its exotic nature. Suśruta mentions a variety called *Māṇigalya*.

10. *Mudga*. (Phaseolus Mungo, Hindi—*Māṅgī*)—A very important pulse from the time of the Yajurveda. Vagbhata II mentions a black variety, *Kṛṣṇa Mudga* and a large variety called

Mahāmudga probably *rājamudga* of Someśvara. But the green variety was considered the best.

11. *Nispāvā*. (*Carnavalii ensiformis*, Hindi-*Bhaṭabāñīs*)—Sāyaṇa interprets *Khalva* as *nispāvā*. The earliest mention of *nispāvā* is in the Caraka Saṁhitā.

12. *Rājamāṣa*. (*Vignocatjang*, Hindi-*rājamādī*)—Possibly Kauṭilya calls it *Simbī* but the word *Rājamāṣa* is first used by Caraka. It was considered exotic hence its use is prohibited in a *Śrāddha*. The Hindi word *Lobiā* is from the Greek word ‘Lobos’.

C. Oilseeds.

1. *Atasi*. (*Linum usitatissimum*, linseed, Hindi-*Alsi*)—Kauṭilya, Āṅgavijjā and the early Jain canonical works mention it.

2. *Eraṇḍa*. (*Castor seed*, *Ricinus communis*, Hindi-*Aranḍa*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is probably indigenous. Kauṭilya calls it *Hastikarna* but the word *eraṇḍa* is used even in the Sankh. Āranyaka (XII 8). It is also mentioned by Caraka. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. VI (i) p. 518 it is wild in Africa and S. Asia.

3. *Inigudi*. (*Ximenia aegyptiaca*, Hindi-*Hingot*)—It is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV 3.164) and Kauṭilya. The oil was used by hermits for their lamps.

4. *Kusumbha*. (*Carthamus tinctorius* Safflower, Hindi-*Kasūma*)—The earliest mention is by Kauṭilya. The oil extracted from it is considered the worst by Vāgbhaṭa I.

5. *Rājikā*. (*Brassica Juncea*, Hindi-*rāī*)—A species of brassica which was grown in the Indus Valley. It seems to have been used by the non-Aryans, as Amarasimha calls it suitable for Asuras. It was known to Kauṭilya. A variety of *rājikā* is called *baja* in the Atharvaveda.

6. *Sarṣapa*. (*Brassica Campesbri*, Hindi-*Sarson*)—It is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras. The white variety (*Brassica alba*) was considered good as it is called *Siddhārtha*. The red variety was also known to Kauṭilya. The Āṅgavijjā mentions a variety called *rāja sarṣapa*. Huen Tsang noted that mustard oil was in common use.

7. *Tila*. (*Sesamum indicum*, Hindi-*Til*)—According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (ii) p. 510) it was originally

a native of Africa but was brought to India before the advent of the Aryans. A lump of charred sesamum was discovered in the Indus region. The word is used in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda. It was used both as an article of food and for extracting oil. But it seems that in the beginning it was used mainly by the non-Aryans. It is probably the earliest oil seed in India as the word 'Taila' is derived from it. A wild variety called *Jartila* is mentioned in the Tait. Sam. (V. 4.32). Three varieties of sesamum white, red and black are mentioned in the *Āngavijjā*. Caraka considers *Tila* oil to be the best of all the oils.

D. Fruits.

1. *Abbiṣuka*. (Hindi—*Cilgozā*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and other writers on medicine. Dalhaṇa explains it as a nut obtained from the northern regions.

2. *Aīnguda*. (Hindi—*Hingot*)—It is mentioned by Caraka.

3. *Airāyata*. Same as *nāraṅga* mentioned by Caraka.

4. *Āksikiphala*. (Beleric myrobalan, Hindi—*Babedā*)—mentioned by Caraka—see *Vibhitaka*.

5. *Akṣota*. (Walnut, Hindi—*Akbarof*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and later medical works.

6. *Āmalaka*. (Emblic Myrobalan, Hindi—*Anvalā*)—It is mentioned in the Jaim. Up. Bra. (I.38.6), Chand Up. VII.3.1 and Kaut. (II 1519). The medical works regard it as one of the good fruits.

7. *Amlavetasa*. (Common Sorrel, Hindi—*Amalbent*)—It is mentioned by Caraka among sour fruits.

8. *Amlikā*. (Tamarind, Hindi—*Imali*)—Caraka and other medical works mention it among sour fruits. It is also called *Ciñcāphala* which word appears to be of Dravidian origin. The Dicy. of Eco. Products states that it is indigenous in Africa.

9. *Āmra*. (*Mangifera Indica*, Hindi—*Ām*)—From his study based on philology, archaeology and historical evidence De Candolle (1883) proved that mango originated in South Asia (Maluccas or Malay Archipelago) and Vevilov confirmed this view. Mukerjee (1951) came to the conclusion that mango originated in Indo-Burma and Indo-China region where about 33 species are found even to-day. The fruit is mentioned in the Br̥had. Up. and by Pāṇini. Kauṭilya also mentions *Cāta*. It is

also called *rasāla* and *Sabakāra*. A green mango fruit is called *Kośāmra* in the medical works.

10. *Āmrātaka*. (*Spondias mangifera*, Hogplum, Hindi-*Āmda*)—mentioned by Caraka, *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* and early Jain canonical works.

11. *Ānikōta*. (*Alangium*; Hindi-*Ānikōta*)—mentioned by Caraka. Amara gives *Nikocaka* as a synonym.

12. *Āruka*. (*Bokhara plum?*, Hindi-*Āhubukhārā*)—mentioned by Caraka.

13. *Āruṣkara*. (Marking-nut, Hindi-*Bhilāvā*)—It is mentioned by Suśruta. It is called *Bballātaka*, by Caraka.

14. *Āsmantaka*. (Hindi-*Āsanta*, a kind of *Kacanār*)—mentioned by Suśruta. It is also called *Sapharī*.

15. *Ātvakarṇa*. (*Sal* Hindi-*Sakhwā*)—mentioned by Suśruta. It was grown in the eastern regions.

16. *Ātvattha*. (*Ficus Religio*, Hindi-*Pipal*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.48).

17. *Badara*. (*Zizyphus Sp.*, Hindi-*Ber*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda and Pāṇini and is a large sized jujube. Kautilya and the medical works invariably mention it among Indian fruits.

18. *Bakula*. (*Mimusops Elengi*, Hindi-*Maulsīri*)—It is mentioned by Suśruta and later medical works.

19. *Bballātaka*. Same as *Āruṣkara*.

20. *Bhavya*. (*Dillenia Indica*, Hindi-*Kamarakk?*)—It is mentioned by Caraka and other medical works. Also see *Kāmaraniga*.

21. *Bilva*. (*Aegle marmelos*, Hindi-*Bel*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda, the Atharvaveda, the Rāmāyaṇa and the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works.

22. *Bimbi*. (*Cephalandia indica*, Hindi-*Kandāri*)—It is mentioned in the Jaim. Up. Bra. (III. 5.6).

23. *Cināni*. (Peaches.)—According to Yuan Chwang the fruit was introduced into India by the Chinese.

24. *Ciñcā*. (tamarind, Hindi-*Jmali*)—The word seems to be of Dravidian origin. Also see *Amslikā*.

25. *Dādima*. (*Punica granatum*, Pomegranate, Hindi-*Anār*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin but according to the Dicy. of Economic Products (Vol. VII (i) p. 369) it is wild in Persia and Afghanistan. The tree forms 'on the utensils sug-

gest the existence of the fruit in the Indus Valley. Caraka and other medical works consider it a good fruit. Vagbhata I mentions two varieties one sour and the other sweet.

26. *Dantaśāpha*. Same as *Jambīra*.

27. *Dhanvana*. (Hindi-*Dhāmanā*)—mentioned by Suśruta.

28. *Drāksā*. Same as *Mṛdvikā*.

29. Fig. (Hindi-*Anjir*)—It was imported into India from Afghanistan and Persia.

(See Dr. P.K. Gode's Article. According to him it is not mentioned in the early medical works.)

30. *Gāmigeruka*. It is first mentioned by Caraka. Probably same as *Nāgabala*.

31. *Jambīra*. (*Citrus Lemonum*—Hindi-*Jambīri nibū*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda but an ear ornament suggests its presence in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned in all the medical works and was very popular when Yuan Chwang visited India.

32. *Jambū*. (*Eugenia Jambalana*, Hindi—*Jāmūn*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. It is mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.165) and Kauṭilya.

33. *Kadali*. (*Musa Sapientum* plantain, Hindi-*Kelā*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. It was probably grown in the Indus Valley but there is a general unanimity among the Botanists that banana is native of India. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya and in the early medical works.

34. *Kalinda*. (Water melon)—The word seems to be of Austric origin. The fruit was grown in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned by Vagbhata II. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the fruit originated from Tropical Africa. It was cultivated by Ancient Egyptians. (II, p. 332).

35. *Kāmaraniga*. (*Dillenia Indica*, Hindi-*Kamarakk*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin.

36. *Kapittba*. (*Feronica Limonia*, Hindi-*Kaith*)—It is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (IV 4.8) and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.

37. *Kacūra*. (A species of Zeoary, Hindi-*Kacūr*)—mentioned by Caraka.

38. *Karamarda*. (*Carissa Carandas Lim.*, Hindi-*Karaundā*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits.

39. *Karaija*. (Indian beech fruit—Smooth leaved Ponginia)—mentioned by Caraka.

40. *Karīra*. (*Cappris aphylla*, Hindi—*Babīla ki tenti*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda.

41. *Karkandbu*. (*Zizyphus jujuba*—small orange—reddish brown berries, Hindi—*Jbārī ke ber*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda. The Sat. Bra. (V. 5. 4. 10) also mentions the two other varieties *Kivala* and *Badara*.

42. *Kaseruka*. (*Scripus Grossus*, Hindi—*Kasern*)—mentioned by Suśruta and the Jain canonical works.

43. *Kāśmarya*. (*Gmelina Arborea*, Hindi—*Kāśmari kā phala*) It is mentioned in the epics and by Caraka.

44. *Kharjūra*. (*Phoenix Sylvestrus*, Hindi—*Khajūr*)—It is mentioned in the Yajurveda but the stones of dates have been found in the Indus Valley.

45. *Kola* or *Kivala*. (*Zizyphus jujuba*, Hindi—*Ber*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda, Atharvaveda and Suśruta. It is an average sized soft jujube.

46. *Lakuca*. (*Artocarpus Lakucha*, Hindi—*Bodhabal*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya. It is considered the worst fruit in the medical works.

47. *Lavali*. (*Chillie millie* or *Cicca disticha*. Hindi—*Haraphārevādi*)—A sour fruit mentioned by Caraka.

48. *Madbūka*. (*Bassia Latifolia*, Hindi—*Mabnā*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda. (I. 34.5) and by Caraka. An intoxicating drink was prepared from it.

49. *Makūlaka*. A sweet fruit growing in the north mentioned by Caraka.

50. *Mātulunga*. (*Citrus medica*, Hindi—*Bijaurā Nibā*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya among sour fruits. In the Rāmāyaṇa it is called *Bijapūraka*.

51. *Moca*. Same as *Kadalī*.

52. *Mrdvikā*. (*Vitis vinifera*, Hindi—*Angir*)—According to De Candole its cultivation can be traced back to 4000 years, North-West India being a great centre of cultivation. Kauṭilya mentions it while Pāṇini calls it *Drāksā* (Hindi—*Kismis*). Caraka mentions both the words. The fruit was imported into India from the North-West. In the Bharhut railings there is the figure of an Indo-Greek king holding a bunch of grapes with a leaf attached to it (Cunningham, pp. 32-33). In the Stūpas of Sāñchi

there is a figure which holds a bunch of grapes with a wine leaf in the left hand. (Grindwedel-Buddhist Art, p. 34).

53. *Nāgaranīga*—(*Citrus Aurantium*, orange, Hindi—*Narangi*) mentioned by Caraka. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. IV, p. 472) the fruit was imported from China or Cochin China towards the beginning of the Christian era. The word *Santrā* is from a Portuguese town ‘Cintre.’

54. *Nārikela*. (*Cocos nucifera*, Hindi—*Nariyal*)—The word appears to be of Austric origin. The tree forms suggest its existence in the Indus Valley. It is mentioned by Caraka and in the Ramayana. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products the tree originated in the Indian Archipelago.

55. *Nicula* (*Barringtonia acutangula*, Hindi—*Samudraphala*) mentioned by Suśruta.

56. *Nikocaka*. (*Pistachio*, Hindi—*Pistā*)—mentioned by Suśruta among dry fruits as a fruit growing in northern regions.

57. *Nimbu*. (*Citrus sp.* Hindi—*Nibbā*)—The word seems to be of Austric origin but India has a rich collection of various species of *Citrus* which is obviously a native of the country.

58. *Nīpa*. (*Nauclea Kadamba*, Hindi—*Kadamba*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.152).

59. *Nyagrodha*. (*Ficus benghalensis*, Hindi—*Bāda*)—mentioned in the Rg-veda. It is also called *vāta*.

60. *Panasa*. (*Artocarpus heterophyllus*, Hindi—*Kaṭabāl*)—According to Burrow it was used by the Dravidians. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya.

61. *Pārāvata*. (a kind of apple, Hindi—*Pālevat*)—It is mentioned in Caraka and other medical works. It was grown in Assam.

62. *Parpaṭakiphala*. (Hindi—*Pittapāpādā*)—mentioned by Caraka.

63. *Parūṣaka*. (*Grewia asiatica*, Hindi—*Fālsā*)—mentioned in the early Buddhist canonical works and Kauṭilya. Caraka also mentions a sour *Parūṣaka*. According to the Dicy. of Economic Products the fruit is indigenous in India. (Vol. IV, p. 177).

64. *Phalgu*. (Fruit of *ficus glomerata*?)—It is mentioned by Caraka. According to Dr. P. K. Gode it is not fig. (See his article.)

65. *Picu*. mentioned among the dry fruits by Suśruta. (Su. 46.187).

66. *Pilu*. (*Careya arborea*, Hindi—*Pilu*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda. XX 135.12. and by Pāṇini.

67. *Plakṣa*. (*ficus lacor*, Hindi—*Pilakbūn*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.

68. *Priyāla*. (*Chironia Sapida*, Hindi—*Cironjī*)—mentioned in the Jātakas and the Rāmāyaṇa and by Kauṭilya.

69. *Puṣkaravarti*. mentioned by Suśruta. It was grown in the north and was also called Āmoda.

70. *Rājādana*. (*Mimospps Kanki*, Hindi—*Khīrnī*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya and Caraka. It is also called *Kīrī*.

71. *Samīphala*. (*Prosopis spicigera*, Sponge tree fruit, Hindi—*Chonikara*)—mentioned by Pāṇini (V. 3. 88 and IV. 3.142.)

72. *Sapbakā*. (*Trapabispinosa*, Hindi—*Sīrigādā*)—mentioned in the Atharvaveda IV. 39.5. In the medical works it is called *Sṛīgātaka*.

73. *Saṇvīra*. (*Zizyphus Jujube*—big jujube Hindi—*unñāv*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya (II. 15.19) and Suśruta.

74. *Siñcitikāphala*. (apple, Hindi—*Seb?*)—According to Dalhaṇa it is a kind of jujube which is as big as a fist and is very sweet. It is grown in the northern regions. Caraka is the first to mention it. According to De Candolle it existed in Europe from Pre-historic times.

75. *Sitaphala*. (Custard apple, Hindi—*Sarifā*)—The fruit has been identified among the sculptures of the Ajanta caves as well as of the Bharhut Stūpa. It is mentioned by Suśruta but according to the Dicy. of Eco Products it was introduced by the Portuguese. According to Dalhaṇa it was known as *Rāvapāmlikā* or *Kāśmīrāmlikā*.

76. *Slesmātaka*. (*Cordiamyk*, Hindi—*Līsodā*)—mentioned by Kauṭilya.

77. *Tālapbala*. (*Barassus Flabelli formis*, Hindi—*Tāḍ kā phala*) mentioned by Pāṇini (IV. 3.165) and Kauṭilya.

78. *Tanķa*. A kind of *Kapitha*—mentioned by Suśruta.

79. *Tauvara*. (Wild almond, Hindi—*Caślmasangra*)—mentioned by Suśruta.

80. *Tinduka*. (*Diospyros Cembryapteres*, Hindi—*Tendā*)—It is mentioned in the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works

and by Caraka. Amara mentions a variety called *Kākatinduka*.

81. *Tintīḍika*. Same as *Cīñcā*.
82. *Todana*. mentioned by Suśruta among sour fruits.
83. *Tūda*. (Mulberry?, Hindi-*Sabatūt*?)—mentioned by Caraka.
84. *Trpaśūnya*. (A kind of Jasmin, Hindi-*Ketaki*?)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.
85. *Udumbara*. (*Ficus glomerata*, Hindi-*Gālār*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda.
86. *Urumāṇa*. (Pear?, Hindi-*Nāśpāti*?)—Pears according to Yuan Chwang were introduced into India by the Chinese.
87. *Vārtāka*. (Brinjal, Hindi-*Benigan*)—mentioned by Caraka. De Candolle thinks it is indigenous.
88. *Vasira*. (Hindi-*Sūryāvartaphala*)—mentioned by Suśruta
89. *Vātāma*. (Almond, Hindi-*Bādām*)—Caraka mentions it among dry fruits. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it went from Persia to Asia Minor. (For details please see Dr. P. K. Gode's article).
90. *Vibhitaka*. (*Terminalia bellerica*, Hindi-*Babedā*)—mentioned in the Rg-veda (III 86.6 and X 34.1).
91. *Vikankata*. (*Flacourlia vamontchi*)—mentioned in the Yajurveda. A thorny tree.
92. *Vetrabhala*. (The soft sprouts of *Catamus Rotang*, Hindi-*Bejit Ke Ajikur*).
93. *Vṛksāmla*. (Hindi-*Kokam*)—mentioned by Kautlyā among sour fruits.

E. Vegetables.

1. *Agastya*. (Agita, Hindi-*Hatiyā*)—Flowers are cooked. Caraka *Sākavarga*.
2. *Agnimanthaka*. (*Premna Inlegrifolia*, Hindi-*Arni*)—Suśruta.
3. *Alābu*. (*Lagenaria vulgaris*, Hindi-*Lauki*)—Probably used by Proto-Australoids. Fruit is cooked. (Yajurveda, Av. VIII. 10.29 etc.).
4. *Āluka*. (Tubers)—Caraka mentions *Pippaluka* etc., Suśruta also mentions *Madhvāluka*, *Hastyāluka*, *Kāṣṭhbāluka*, *Sāmbāluka* and *Raktāluka*.
5. *Amlikākanda*. A bulb grown in Assam., Caraka.

6. *Andikā*. (*Nymphal alba*)—Av. IV. 34.5. Its flowers were eaten.
7. *Anikalodya*. (Root of little blue lotus) Caraka.
8. *Āsurī*. (A kind of *Brassica*, Hindi—*Rāj*) Caraka.
9. *Āsvattha*. (*Ficus religiosa*, Hindi—*Pipal*) Caraka.
10. *Avakā*. (*Blyxa oryzetorum*, Hindi—*Sivār*)—Kashmir potherb—Yajurveda and Av. IV. 378.
11. *Avalgigā*. (Same as *Bakuci*, Hindi—*Bābaci*) Caraka.
12. *Bhanḍī*. (Ladies finger?, Hindi—*Bhindī?*)—Caraka, According to Rajanighantu it is *mañjistha*.
13. *Bilvapatra*. (Leaves of aegle marmelos, Hindi—*Bel-ka-Patte*) Caraka.
14. *Bimbipatra*. Leaves of the large flowered *Bryonia*. Leaves are cooked.
15. *Bimbitikā*. (Large flowered *Bryonia*, Hindi—*Kundarū*) fruit is cooked. Suśruta.
16. *Bisa*. (Lotus stalks, Hindi—*Bbis*) Caraka. The diggers of lotus stalks are mentioned in the Rv. VI. 61.2. Probably they were eaten.
17. *Brbatī*. (Indian Night shade, Hindi—*Baḍī Kāṭeri*) Suśruta.
18. *Cakramarda*. (Ovalleaved Cassia.)
19. *Cānigerī*. (Indian Sorrel, Hindi—*Caupatiā*) Caraka. A leafy vegetable.
20. *Cañcu*. (Water cress or *Carchorus Aentan*—*gularis*, Hindi—*Cañcu*) Caraka.
21. *Cilli*. (Purple goose-foot, Hindi—*Baḍā Bathsūd*) Caraka.
22. *Cicindā*. (Snakegourd, Hindi—*Caceṇḍā*) fruit is cooked Caraka.
23. *Cirbbīṭa*. (A kind of cucumber, Hindi—*Pbāṭ*) Kauṭilya, Caraka.
24. *Citraka*. (*Plumbago zeylanica*, rose coloured lead wort, Hindi—*Citā*) Kauṭilya. Caraka.
25. *Ervāruka*. (Cucumber, Hindi—*Kakaḍī*)—Caraka.
26. *Gandīra*. (Hindi—*Kāṇa Zimikand*) Caraka.
27. *Gangernuka*. (A little thorny plant bearing a white nectareous flower) Caraka.
28. *Gojibva*. (Elephants foot?, Hindi—*Gazavān* or *Gejibbi*) a leafy vegetable. Caraka.
29. *Grīñjana*. (Carrot root, Hindi—*Gājar*) a root. Caraka.

30. *Jīvaka*. (A plant growing on the Himalayas having a bulbous root and having round and long leaves. *Pentaptera Tomentosa*) Suśruta.

31. *Jīvanti*. (Sarsaparila, Hindi-*Jīvanti*) Best pot herb. Caraka.

32. *Kadalī*. (Plantain, Hindi-*Kelā*) Flowers and fruit are cooked. Suśruta. See fruits.

33. *Kākamāci*. (Nightshade Hindi-*Makoya*) Caraka.

34. *Kākanḍolā*. (cowhage) Caraka.

35. *Kalambi*. (Red Malabar night shade, Hindi-*Kalamī Sāk*) Caraka, a leafy vegetable.

36. *Kālaśāka*. (Maraya Korniji, Hindi-*Cūkā*) Caraka, a leafy vegetable.

37. *Kalāya*. (Field pea, Hindi-*Matar*) Kauṭilya II. 12.7 and Caraka. See pulses.

* 38. *Kaliṅga*. (Water melon, Hindi-*Tarbhūzā*) Suśruta.

39. *Kanṭakārikā*. (Bitter sweet night shade, Hindi-*Kateri*) Suśruta.

40. *Kāravella*. (*Mormodica*, Hindi-*Karelā*) Fruit is cooked. It is called *Kāriynta* in the Kāśyapa Saṁ. It is mentioned in the Jain canonical works and Suśruta.

41. *Karbudāra*. Hindi-*Kacnār*. Caraka.

42. *Karkāruka*. (Very small pumpkin, Hindi-*Choṭā petbā*) Suśruta.

43. *Karkaśa*. Same as *Karkotaka*, a kind of *Patola*. Caraka.

44. *Karkaṭi*. (a variety of cucumber, Hindi-*Kakaḍī*) fruit is cooked.

45. *Karkotaka*. (*Mormordica charantia*, Hindi-*Kakodā*). Caraka.

46. *Kaseruka*. (*Cyperus rotundus*, Hindi-*Kaseru*) a root—Caraka. See fruits.

47. *Kaṭbillaka*. (A pot herb, Red variety of *Punarnavā*) Caraka *Sākavarga*.

48. *Kelūta*. Same as *kembuks*, Hindi-*Kemuā* or *kobi*, Tuber is eaten. Caraka.

49. *Kośātaki*. (*Luffa pentandra*, Hindi-*Kaṭavī Torai*) Fruit is cooked. It is indigenous according to the Dicy. of Eco. Products, Vol. V, p. 94. Kauṭilya, Suśruta.

50. *Kovidāra*. (*Bauhinia variegata*, Hindi-Lal *Kacanār*) Kauṭilya. Caraka.

51. *Krauñcādani*. (a water tuber, Hindi *Kauncādan*) Caraka.
52. *Kulaka*. (Hindi-Kerelā or *Parval bbeda*) Caraka.
53. *Kumārajīva*. Hindi-Jīvāsāka. Caraka.
54. *Kumuda*. (*Nympha* lotus, Hindi-Safed *Kamal*) Av. IV.
- 54.5, Caraka.
55. *Kṣitalikā*. (*Phyalis Indica*, Hindi-Pansokha) Suśruta.
56. *Kuśmāṇḍa*. (Pumpkin gourd, Hindi-Sitāphala) Fruits is cooked. It is considered the best vegetable. Caraka.
57. *Kusumbba*. (Safflower, Hindi-Kaśām) Kauṭilya, Caraka.
58. *Kuśberaka*. (A kind of holy Basil, Hindi-Tulasī Bbeda) Caraka.
59. *Kuṭīñjara*. (Wild Goose foot, Hindi-Jangli Bathuā). Caraka.
60. *Kutumbuka*. (Hindi-Gūmā ke patte) Same as *Dronapuṣpi*. A leafy vegetable. Caraka.
61. *Lakṣmaṇā*. A plant having upon its leaves red spots Av. II. 25.3, Caraka.
62. *Lāṅgali*. (Hindi Kalibāri) Caraka.
63. *Laſunia*. (*Allium sativum*, Garlic root, Hindi-Labasun) A tuber. Kasyapa Sam.
64. *Loničā*. (Common Indian Parselone, Hindi-Luni or Kulfā) A leafy vegetable. Caraka *Sakavarga*.
65. *Loffaka*. Hindi-Laba māriṣa Caraka, śākavarga.
66. *Mandūkaparnī*. (Indian pennywort, Hindi-Brāhma) Caraka and early Jain canonical works.
67. *Māriṣa*. (*Amaranthu olevaceus*. Hindi-Mariṣa) A leafy vegetable.
68. *Maruwaka*. (*Vangueria spinosa*, Hindi-Marsā Kauṭilya.)
69. *Māṣaparnī*. (*Teramus labiolis* or *Glycine labialis*, Hindi-vanānṛada). (Av. II. 25.3. Caraka Śākavarga.) Dhanvantri I. 136 calls it *kāmbojī* which shows that, it was grown in Kamboja region.
70. *Methikā*. (Fenugreek, Hindi-Methī). According to Dr. P. K. Gode it was imported from Persia. Suśruta mentions Aśvabalā which is a variety of *methikā*. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (VI iv p. 86) it is wild in Kashmir. The word *methāka* is mentioned by Dhanvantari (See Dr. Gode's article.)
71. *Mūlaka*. (radish, Hindi-Mūli) Caraka. Śākavarga. Soft unripe radish is considered good.

72. *Muñjātaka*. (*Nibū* grown in Northern India specially Kashmir, where it is called *Moboyaka*.) Caraka.

73. *Nāḍī*. (Carchorus Oiltarius.) Caraka.

74. *Nālikā*. (Hindi—*Nāḍī kā Sāk*) Same as *Kālaśāka*.

75. *Nalinī*. Same as *Bisa*, Hindi—*Bbis*. Caraka.

76. *Nandimāśaka*. (Hindi—*Undī manavaka*) Caraka.

77. *Nimba*. (Margosa tree, Hindi—*Nīm*) Caraka.

78. *Nispāva*. (Flat bean, Hindi—*Bhaṭbāñī*) Caraka.

79. *Nyagrodha*. (*Ficus benghalensis*, Hindi—*Bād*) Rv. I. 24.7. Caraka.

80. *Pālanikya*. (*Spinacia aleracea*, Hindi—*Pālak*) a leafy vegetable. Early Jain canonical works, Caraka.

81. *Panasa*. See fruits.

82. *Palāṇḍu*. (*Allium Cepa*, Onions, Hindi—*Pyāz*) A root. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it originated from Persia and Afganistan. Patañjali, Ap. Dh. Su. I. 17.26.

83. *Parpañaka*. (*Justicia procumbance*, Hindi—*Pittapāpādā*) Caraka.

84. *Parvāpi*. Same as *Indra Vāruṇi*. Caraka.

85. *Pāṭhā*. (Velvet leaf. Hindi—*Pāṭhā*) Av. II. 27.4. Kauṭilya and Caraka.

86. *Patola*. (A kind of snakegourd, Hindi—*Paraval*) Fruit is cooked. Probably used by early Dravidians. Buddhist canonical works and Caraka.

87. *Phat̄ji*. (a kind of leafy vegetable same as *Bharīrgī*) Caraka.

88. *Piluparyī*. (Hindi—*Marbel*) Caraka.

89. *Pindāluka*. (A white variety of *Alocasia*, Hindi—*Ratāñī?*) a root Kauṭilya, Caraka.

90. *Plakṣa*. (*Ficus arnottiana*, Hindi—*Pilkhan*) Yajurveda and Av. V. 5. Caraka.

91. *Prapunnāḍa*. Same as *Cakramarda*. Caraka.

92. *Punarnavā*. (Hog's weed, Hindi—*Viṣakhaparā*) Suśruta.

93. *Puṣkarabija* (*Nymphaea*. *Stellala*, Hindi—*Kamalgattā*) Rv. VI. 16.13 etc. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

94. *Rajakṣavaka* also called *Dugdbikā*. Caraka *Sākavarga*.

95. *Rājamāṣa*. (Cowpea, Hindi—*Rājamāṣā*) See Pulses. The Hindi word *lobia* is from the Greek word *Lobos*. According to De Candolle it is a native of Brazil and came to India from Mauritius. (Vol. VI 91 p. 186).

96. *Sakulādani*. (Purple Lippa, Same as Jalapippali, Hindi-*Kaṭuki* or *Jalapīpal*). Caraka *Sākavarga*.

97. *Sālmali*. (Bambax Ceiba, Hindi-*Semal*) Flowers are cooked. Rv. VII. 50.3 etc. Caraka.

98. *Sāluka*. (Nymphaea lotus, the root of waterlily, Hindi-Kamalkand) Av. IV. 34.5, Caraka.

99. *Sāṇa*. (Crotalaria juncea, Hindi-*Sana*) Av. II. 4.5, Kauṭilya and Caraka.

100. *Sātalā*. (Soap nut acacia, Hindi-*Sātalā*) Suśruta.

101. *Sarangeśṭā*. Same as *Mājīṣṭha*, Hindi-*Majīṣṭha* Caraka.

102. *Sarpachatrāka*. (Mushroom, Hindi-*Khumbī*) Caraka *Sākavarga*.

103. *Sarṣapa*. (Brssica Campestris, Mustard, Hindi-*Sarsonī*) leaves and stalk. Chand Up. II. 14.3, Caraka.

104. *Satapuṣpi*. (Leaf of Dilseed, Hindi-*Soyā*) Vagbhata II. According to Dicy. of Eco. Products VI. 1.187 it is a native of India.

105. *Satāvari*. (Asparagus racemosus, Hindi-*Satāvar*) Kauṭilya Caraka.

106. *Sati*. (Long Zedoary, Hindi-*Kacūr*) Same as *Karcūra* Caraka.

107. *Satīna*. (a kind of pea, Hindi-*Maṭar*) Suśruta. See pulses.

108. *Simbi*. (a legume) Fruit is cooked. The Hindi word *Sem* seems to be derived from it. Kauṭilya.

109. *Sigru*. (Moringapte rygosperma, Horse radish tree, Hindi-*Senījana*) a leafy vegetable. It is also called *Saubhanījana*. Kauṭilya.

110. *Sīrpavṛnta*. Same as *Cirbhīṭa*. Suśruta.

111. *Śleṣmātaka*. (Myxa, Hindi-*Lasorā*) See fruits.

112. *Sreyasi*. Same as *Gajapippali*. Caraka.

113. *Sṛigāta*. (*Trapabispinosa*, Hindi-*Singhāḍā*) See fruits.

114. *Sudarśana*. Same as *Vṛṣaparṇī*. Mbh. Anu. 91.42.

115. *Suniṣaṇṇaka*. (*Naisilea quadrifolia*, Hindi-a kind of *Methī*). Caraka *Sākavarga*.

116. *Sūraṇa*. (Yam. Hindi-Zamīnkand) According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (i) p. 363) it is indigenous in India. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

117. *Suṣā*. (Same as *Kāsamarda*, Hindi-*Suṣavī* or *Kasaundi*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

118. *Suvarecalā*. (Sunflower, Hindi-*Hulbul*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

119. *Tālapralamba*. Tender leaves of palm tree. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

120. *Tanduliyaka*. (Prickly Amaranth. Hindi-*Caslāi kā bbeda*) a leafy vegetable. Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

121. *Tāruṇī*. a tuber also called *Saba* (*Suśruta*).

122. *Tarṇa*. (Hindi-*Tiratkand*) Caraka. *Sākavarga*.

123. *Tilaparnikā*. Hindi-*Hulbul* Same as *Suvarecalā*. Caraka.

124. *Tindīṣa*. (a kind of Cucumber, *Hibiscus ficalneus*, Hindi-*Tindā?*) Fruit is cooked, According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products it is indigenous.

125. *Trapusa*. (a kind of cucumber, Hindi-*Kbirā*) mainly grown in northern India. (Caraka)

126. *Trparyī*. Same as *Haṁsapādikā*. Caraka.

127. *Upodaki*. (*Basella cardifolia*, Indian Spinach, Hindi-*Poī*) a leafy vegetable—Caraka.

128. *Udumbara*. (*Ficus Glemorata*, Hindi-*Gular*). Caraka.

129. *Urubuka*. (*Cucumis melo*, Hindi-*Lal Araṇḍa*) Rv. VII.

59.12. *Yajurveda*, Av. XIV. I. 17. and *Suśruta*.

130. *Urvāruka*. (*Cucumis sativus*, Hindi-*Kacariyā*) Rv. VII.

59.12. Caraka.

131. *Utpala*. (Blue lotus, Hindi-*Nīla Kamal*). Caraka.

132. *Vajrakanda*. a tuber mentioned by Kauṭilya.

133. *Vanisanikura*. (shoots of a bamboo, Hindi-*Banīs ke Aikur*). Caraka.

134. *Vanatiktaka*. (Same as *Kirātatikta*. Hindi-*Kālamegha*). Caraka.

135. *Varsābbū*. (*Boerhavia diffusa*.)

136. *Vārtāka* or *Vṛntāka*. (Brinjal, Hindi-*Bengān*) Fruit is cooked. Probably it was used by Proto-Australoids. A fruit like brinjal can also be seen in Ajanta paintings. De Candolle thinks it is indigenous. (Caraka and Jain canonical works.)

137. *Varupā*. (*Crataeva nurvalla*, Hindi-*Varnā*) a leafy vegetable. (Av. VI. 85.1 etc.)

138. *Vāstuka*. (White goose-foot, Hindi-*Batbuā*) a potherb. Considered good. (Caraka and Jain canonical works.)

139. *Vatsādani*. (*Cocculus Cordifolius*, Hindi-*Giloya*) A leafy vegetable Caraka. It is called *Gudīci* by *Suśruta*.

140. *Vetrāgra*. (Soft sprouts of *Calamus Rotang*, Hindi-*Bent kā Aglā Bbāg*) Caraka, Vagbhaṭa II.

141. *Vidārikand*. (Canvovulus paniculatus, Hindi-Bilaikand) a root. Caraka.

142. *Vrkṣādanī*. (a parasite, Hindi-Bandā) Suśruta.

143. *Vrkadbūmaka*. Probably same as *Trivṛta* Caraka.

144. *Vṛṣapuṣpa*. (Hindi-*Āduse kā phūl*) Caraka.

145. *Yātuka*. (White *Sālaparṇi*) Caraka.

146. *Yavāni*. (The leaf of Bishop's weed) Caraka.

147. *Yavasāka*. (kind of *Vastuka*, Hindi-*khet pāpādā*) Grown in Bengal. Caraka.

148. *Yūtbikā*. (*Jaminum aruiculatum*, Hindi-*Jābi*) Suśruta.

F. Spices.

1. *Ajagandbā*. (A variety of *Yavāni*) Caraka. Su. 27.176.
2. *Ajājī*. (Cummin, Hindi-Zīrā) Kauṭilya II. 15.21. Caraka and Suśruta call black cummin *Kāravī* and a thick variety is called *Kuncikā*. The Sanskrit word *Jiraka* seems to have been derived from the Persian word *Zirā* hence it seems that it was introduced into India from Persia (Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. II, p. 643) According to Watt it is indigenous in Egypt.
3. *Ārdraka*. See Śṛṅgavera, Caraka. *Haritavarga*.
4. *Ārjaka*. Same as *Kuṣheraka*, Caraka. *Haritavarga*.
5. *Āsvabaldā*. It is a variety of *Methikā*.
6. *Āudbbida*. (Kitchen salt, Hindi-Kac *Namak*) Kaut. II. 15.16.
7. *Bbuṣtrpa*. (Andropogo Martini, Hindi-*Gandbatṛpa*) Caraka Su. 27.170. Vāgbhāṭa II Su. VII.
8. *Bida*. (Black salt, Hindi-*Kālā Namak*) Kauṭilya II. 15.16.
9. *Cavya*. (*Piper chaba*, Hindi-*Caba*) Vāgbhata II. Su. VI.
10. *Citraka*. (*Plumbago Zeylanica*, Hindi-*Citā*) Kauṭilya.
11. *Coca*. (*Cinnamon Zeylanica*, Hindi-*Dālcīnī*) Kauṭilya. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. II, p. 317 it is a native of Sumātrā.
12. *Coraka*. Kauṭilya. II. 15.21.
13. *Damanaka*. (*Antemisia vulgaris*) Kauṭilya and Caraka.
14. *Dāruharidrā*. (*Amomum Xanthorirhou*) Kauṭilya.
15. *Dhānyaka*. See *Kustumburu*.
16. *Elā*. (*Cardamaom*, Hindi-*Ialāyacī*) According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II. p. 227) it is indigenous in mountain tracts of S. India. Kauṭilya uses it in the preparations of

decoctions for causing madness. Pliny mentions four varieties green, reddish and black, short and black and mottled with a faint smell. Amarasimha mentions the two varieties, the large and the small one.

17. *Gandira*. See vegetables. Caraka Su. 27.169.

18. *Gaurasarsapa*. (White mustard, Hindi-*Safed Sarson*) Kauṭilya II. 15.21.

19. *Grījana*. A small variety of garlic. Suśruta calls it a vegetable liked by Yavanas and Dhanvantari calls it Mlecchakanda i.e. a tuber liked by non-Aryans.

20. *Haridrā*. (*Curcum longa*, Turmeric, Hindi-*Haldi*) The word seems to be of Austric origin. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 659) it is a native of South Asia.

21. *Haritaki*. (*Terminalia Chebula*; Hindi-*Hat*) Early Buddhist canon and Kauṭilya II. 12.5.

22. *Hingu*. (*Asafoetida*, Hindi-*Hing*) Mahāvagga VI 7. The Kāśyapa Samhitā calls it Bālhika which shows that it was imported from Afghanistan.

23. *Jalapippali*. A kind of pepper which grows in water Caraka Su. 27.

24. *Jambīra*. See fruits.

25. *Jātiphalā*. (Nutmeg, Hindi-*Jāyaphal*) Suśruti and Kāśyapa. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. IV, p. 473) it is a native of Maluccas.

26. *Jiraka*. See *Ajājī*.

27. *Karpūra*. (Camphor, Hindi-*Kapūr*) Suśruta Su. 46.202.

28. *Kānkola*. (*Cubelia officinalis*, Hindi-*Sitalacīni*) Suśruta Su. 46.202. According to Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. VI (i), p. 257) it is a native of Java and Sumatra.

29. *Kāsamarda*. (*Cassia Occidentalis*, Hindi-*Kasaundi*) Suśruta Su. 46.221.

30. *Kastūrikā*. (Musk, Hindi-*Kastūri*) Suśruta Su. 46.204.

31. *Kesara*. also called *Kumkuma* (Saffron, Hindi-*Kesara*) Amara II. 6.124. It was brought from Kashmir and Afghanistan, and also exported to Arabia.

32. *Khadira*. (*Acacia Catechu*, Hindi-*Khair*) used in preparing betel leaves (Rv. II. 53.19 etc.). According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 203) it is a native of Moluccas.

33. *Kharātva*. (Black cummin, See *Ajājī*) Caraka Su. 27.170.

34. *Kṣayaka*. (Centipeda or bicularis, Hindi—*Nāka Chikkani*) Suśruta Su. 46.221.

35. *Kirātatikta*. (Gentiana chitrayita, Hindi—*Cirāyatā*) Kauṭilya. It was probably grown in the country of the Kiratas.

36. *Kustumburu*. (Coriander, Hindi—*Dhaniyā*) Same as *Dhānyaka*. The word Kustumburu seems to be a Dravidian word. (Pāṇini (VI. 1.143) Kauṭilya II 15.21.)

37. *Laśuna*. (Garlic Hindi—*Labasan*), Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

38. *Lavanya*. (Salt, Hindi—*Namak*) Av. VII. 76.1.

39. *Lavaniga*. (Cloves, Hindi—*Long*) Pliny mentions cloves as an article of trade. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products. (Vol. II, p. 203) it is a native of Moluccas. Suśruta 46.202.

40. *Marica*. (Black pepper, Hindi—*Kāli Mirca*) (Ap. Dh. Su. I. 7. 20.12. Mahāvagga VI. 6 and Kaut. II. 15.21.) Periplus states that it was exported to the Arabian Sea ports in the 1st century A. D. Pliny mentions both the white and black varieties. Probably it grew at Dharmapattana (Calicut?) as Amarasimha (II. 9.367) calls it after the town. But the Dicy. of Eco. Products (Vol. II, p. 202) regards it as indigenous in the Moluccas.

41. *Mariwaka*. (Vangueria spinosa, Hindi—*Marigarela*) Kauṭilya.

42. *Mūlaka*. See vegetables. Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

43. *Musta*. (Cyperus rotundus, Hindi—*Mothā*) Kauṭilya. Amara calls it *Kuruvinda* probably because it was grown in the Kuru country).

44. *Nāgakesara*. (Calophyllum inophyllum) Vaghata II calls it *Pumināga*.

45. *Palāndu*. (Onions, Hindi—*Pyāz*) Caraka. *Haritavarga*. See vegetables.

46. *Pippali*. (Piper epuloides, Hindi—*Pipal*) It was probably used by Ancient Dravidians as it was exported to Assyria in the 14th century B. C. It is mentioned in the Av. VI. 107.4. It is called *uṣṇapīḍ* in the Sat. Bra. III 4.3.13. Kauṭilya and the authors of medical works mention it as one of the very important spices. According to the Dicy. of Eco. Products (VI (i), p. 258) it is indigenous in India.

47. *Pippalimūla*. (Piper afficinatum, Hindi—*Piparāmūl*) Vaghata II, Su. VI.

48. *Pūgapbala*. (Arecanut, Hindi-*Sapāri*) In Kauṭilya's time powdered arccanut was used to flavour certain varieties of liquors. It is a native of Malaya and seems to have been introduced into India by the Austric people. (Dicy. of Eco. Products Vol. I, p. 291 and Vol. VI (iii), p. 323) It was used in preparing betel leaves (Kaśyapa Saṁ. Bhojana kalpa 39).

49. *Rājikā*. (Brassica, Hindi-*Rāī*) A species of Brassica was grown in the Indus Valley. It is called *Baja* in Av. VII. 6.3. In Caraka it is called *Āsuri* probably because it was mainly used by the non-Aryans.

50. *Romaka*. A kind of salt. Suśruta.

51. *Saindhava*. (Rock salt, Hindi-*Sendhā Namak*) Brh. Up. II. 4.12.

52. *Sāleyamṛṣṭaka*. Caraka. *Haritavarga*.

53. *Sāmudra*. (Sea Salt, Hindi-*Sāmudra Namak*).

54. *Sanvarcala*. (Hindi-*Senical Namak*) Kauṭilya II. 15.16.

55. *Siddhārtha*. (White mustard, Hindi-*Sarson*) same as *Gaurasarsapa*.

56. *Sigru*. (Hyperanthera moringa) Caraka. *Haritavarga*. See vegetables.

57. *Sṛigavera*. (Lingiber officinale, Hindi-*Adarak*) The word seems to be of Austric origin in the Av. IV. 35.5 it is called *Adāra*. It is mentioned by Kauṭilya.

58. *Suṇṭhi*. (Dryginger, Hindi-*Saunṭh*) Caraka calls it a panacea. (*Viśvabheṣaja*) See *Sṛigavera*.

59. *Suṣavī*. (Carum Carui or Caraway, Hindi-*Suṣavī*).

60. *Tejapatra*. (Cassia, Hindi-*Tejapāṭ*) Vaghbata II, Su. VI.

61. *Tulasi*. (Holy Basil, Hindi-*Tūlśī*) The word seems to be of Dravidian origin. The plant is mentioned in the early Buddhist canonical works. Caraka Su. 27.167.

62. *Tumburu*. (Zanthoxylum Alatum, Hindi-*Tumbaru*) Caraka Su. 27.169.

63. *Twak*. (Cinnomomum Zeylonicum, Hindi-*Dalkīni*) Vaghbata II Su. VI. Kauṭilya calls it *Coca* See *Coca*.

64. *Udbbeda*. (a kind of salt). Caraka Su. I. 88.89. See *Audbbid*.

65. *Uṣīra*. (Hindi-*Khas*) Kauṭilya.

66. *Vaca*. (Lerumbet, Hindi-Baca). It is also called *Sthūla granthi*.
67. *Vibhitaka*. (*Terminalia blenca*). See fruits.
68. *Visvabbesaja*. See *Suṇṭhi* Caraka. *Haritavarga*.
69. *Yavakṣāra*. (Nitre, Hindi-Javākhār) Suṣruta.
70. *Yavāñi*. (*Hyoscyamus niger*, Hindi-Khurāsāñi *Ajavāyana*) Caraka Su. 27.168.

APPENDIX VII

FOOD PREPARATIONS

A.—Vegetarian

1. *Abhyūṣa*. Green barley in ears when parched and beaten with a pestle and mixed with *guḍa*. (*Pāṇini*, *Apūpādivarga*, *Amara*, *Vaiśya*. *Vag.* I. Su. 10. 66).

2. *Ambatthika*. A sweet prepared with mango. (*Angv.* p. 182).

3. *Ambila*. (*Hindi-Sirkā*)—Vinegar. It is called *Sukta* or *Cukra* in the medical works. (*Jātakas*, *Caraka* Su. 27, 284. *Suśruta* Su. 45.212).

4. *Āmikṣā*. Solid part of a mixture of curds and boiled milk. (*Yajurveda* and *Sat. Bra.* III. 3.3.2.)

5. *Apūpa*. (*Hindi-Puā*)—A cake made of rice or barley meal cooked in clarified butter on slow fire. Honey was mixed to sweeten it. It is probably the earliest sweet known to us. (*Rv.* x. 45.9). Cakes prepared with broken pieces of rice are also mentioned (*Kanapūvam*, J. 109 and Jain canon). *Pāṇini* mentions *apūpas* stuffed with fried wheat flour (*cūrṇitāb apūpāb*). *Caraka* (Su. 27.268) mentions *pūpas* prepared with the addition of milk and juice of sugarcane. (*Kṣitikṣurasa pūpakāb*). *Vaghata* I mentions five varieties of cakes:—

(1) Cooked in a pit heated with chaff fire (*Kukūlapakva*).

(2) Cooked in an earthen potsherd (*Kārpara-pakva*).

(3) Cooked in a *Bbrāṣṭra* (*Bbrāṣṭra pakva*).

(4) Cooked in a *kandu* (*Tandūra* in Hindi) (*Kandu pakva*) and

(5) Cooked on live charcoals. (*Ārigāra pakva*).

6. *Āsuta*. Vegetables preserved in vinegar. *Suśruta* Su. 45. 211.

7. *Aukula*. Green cereals in ears when parched. *Vag.* I. Su. X. 66.

8. *Avarāṇna*. Pulses cooked with spices. First mentioned by *Baudhayana*. (*Dh. Su.* IV. 7.7. and *Gr. Su.* II. 8.4.) The *Anguttara Nikaya* IV. 108.112 calls it *Aparappa*. (See Dr. Gode's article on *Avarāṇna*).

9. *Bhakṣya*. (*Mithbāī* in Hindi) Sweets in general. Good quality sweets are called *Uccāvaca bhakṣya* (Ram. 61.14). In Suśruta's time sweets were dressed with fruits, meat, preparations of sugarcane juice and *māṣa*. (Suśruta Su. 46).

10. *Bhakta*. Same as *Odana* (Pāṇini IV. 4.10. Early Buddhist canon and later).

11. *Bharūja*. Same as *Dbānāb*. (Ap. Dh. Su. I. 5.17.19).

12. *Bhr̥ṣṭadbārya*. (Fried grains). Caraka (Cikitsā 20.37) shows that parched grains such as *Mudga*, *Masūra* and *Kalāya* were in common use. (See Dr. P. K. Gode's Article on Fried Grains A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XXVII pages 56-82).

13. *Bhūtakūraka*. A mixture of curds, groats, parched rice and sesame which was used to drive away evil spirits. (Angv. p. 64).

14. *Capakaudana*. Rice cooked with gram pulse. (Matsya Pu. 268. 6-30).

15. *Corn*—cooked rice from which water was not strained. The grains became soft but remained distinct (Sabara on Jaim. X. 1.42.).

16. *Citrānna*. A cooked preparation of many cereals? (Baudh. Gr. Sesa. Su. p. 206. Yaj. Sm. I. 304).

17. *Dadbanvat*. Probably a kind of cheese with two varieties one with pores and the other without pores. (Rv. VI. 48. 18.)

18. *Dadbiṣara*. Cream of curds. (Mṛcchakaṭika. Act. I. p. 47 Cal. 1938).

19. *Dadbyodana*. (*Dabī Cāval* in Hindi) Boiled rice mixed with curds. Brhad. Up. VI. 4.15.

20. *Dbānāb*. (Hindi-Baurī) Parched barley. (Rv. I. 16.2. etc.) Sprouted and parched barley is also mentioned (Caraka Su. 27.265).

21. *Dbosaka*. A saline preparation of pulses mixed with spices and fried in clarified butter (Mānasollāsa III. 1491-1494).

22. *Dīvālikā*. (Hindi-Matharī or Dīvale) Saline small cakes prepared with wheat flour fried in clarified butter. (Angv. p. 182).

23. *Dugdbandana*. Boiled rice mixed with milk. (Angv. p. 64).

24. *Gandika*. Sweets of wheat flour with *gūḍa* stuffed inside. (Suśruta. Su. 46.394).

25. *Ghārikā*. (*Gbarage* in Marathi) Round cakes of *Māṣa*

flour with five or seven holes fried in oil till their colour became red. (*Mānasollāsa* III. 1401-1403).

26. *Ghayapūṇṇa*. See *Gṛṭapūra*. (Uva. I. 34).

27. *Ghola*. (Hindi-*Lassi*) Curds churned with entire butter in it. (*Suśruta* Su. 45.85).

28. *Gṛṭaudana*. Boiled rice mixed with clarified butter. (*Sankh Aran.* XII. 8.)

29. *Gṛṭapūra*. (Hindi-*Ghevara*). A cake prepared with fine wheat flour mixed with milk, and fried in ghee. It is then coated with sugar. Also called *Haviśpūra*. (*Suśruta* Su. 46, Uva. I. 34).

30. *Gṛḍaudana*. Rice boiled with treacle. (Baudh. Gr. *Seṣa* Su., p. 258, *Bharata* III. 36-39. Augv., p. 64).

31. *Gulalavaniya Gōl papadi* in Gujarati. Early Jain canon.

32. *Haiyamgavīna*. Butter churned out of the curds prepared from the previous day's milk. (*Suśruta* Su. 45.94).

33. *Haridrodana*. Rice cooked with turmeric. (Baudh. Gr. *Seṣa* Su., p. 258).

34. *Holaka*. Same as *Ulumbāb*.

35. *Idarikā*. Circular balls of fermented fine *Māṣa* flour fried in clarified butter. Spices were mixed before eating. (*Mānasollāsa* XIII. 1400-1401).

36. *Iṣṭaka*. A sweet preparation mentioned in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. (80.47).

37. *Kaccara*. The dry pieces of a cucumber fried in ghee or oil. (*Bhavisyatṭa-kahā* XII 3. *Vilāsavatikathā*).

38. *Kāmbalika*. A soup prepared with whey, some roots, viscous sediment of sesame and vinegar. (*Suśruta* Su. 46. 381).

39. *Kāñjika*. According to Dr. Burrow sour rice gruel was used by Dravidians. It was very popular in Kāñcī and Avanti. Two varieties are mentioned in the *Suśruta* (Su. 45. 213-214), one prepared with the husk of cereals (*tuṣāmbu*) and the other prepared with food grains (*Dhānyāmla*) (*Vin. I. 203*, *Amar. II. 9.39*).

40. *Karambba*. (Hindi-*Dabi-Sattu*). A kind of porridge made of parched barley flour mixed with curds, clarified butter or *Soma* juice. (Rv. III. 52.7. etc.)

41. *Kāśāra*. (Hindi-*Kasār*) A preparation of wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with milk, granulated sugar and aromatic spices. (*Mānasollāsa* III. 1386-87).

42. *Kaṭakarpa*. (Hindi-*Kalmi Bade*) Preparation of pea pulse ground, fumigated, and mixed with spices and fried in clarified butter. (Mānasollāsa III. 1394-97.)

43. *Kaṭṭapipija*. A gruel prepared from rice fried in clarified butter (Uva. I. 33.).

44. *Khadā*. A soup prepared from fruits. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta. Su. 46 S. 376, Angv., p. 179) or a preparation of sediment of sesame cooked with aromatic spices. (Nala on Suśruta Su. 46.381.)

45. *Khajjaka*. (Hindi-*Khājā*) A preparation of wheat flour fried in ghee. (Suśruta Su. 46. 399) Sweet *Khajjakas* are also mentioned (Uva. I. 34).

46. *Khaṇḍapāka* or *Khaṇḍava* (Hindi-*Khāṇḍki mitbāl*) sweets prepared from sugarcandy. (Ram. Bal 53.4).

47. *Kilāṭa*. Liquid part of inspissated milk but Dalhaṇa uses the word in the sense of solid part. (Kauṭilya II. 29.27., Caraka Su. V. 9, Suśruta Su. 46).

48. *Kṛṣara*. A dish prepared with sesamum and rice cooked in milk. In Dalhaṇa's time it was a dish prepared with Sesamum, rice and *Māṣa*. (Av. V. 5 Sad. Bra. V. 2 and Gṛhya Sūtras).

49. *Kṣāralavāṇa*. Saline preparations which were probably highly spiced. (Gṛhya Sūtras).

50. *Kṣīraudana*. (Hindi-*khir*). The Rv. (VIII 77.10) has *Kṣīrapākam odanam*. Rice cooked with milk.

51. *Kṣīraprakāra*. A sweet preparation from boiled milk inspissated by the addition of some sour substance. Solid part was mixed with rice flour, formed into various shapes, fried and coated with sugar. (Modern-Rasgullas?) (Mānasollāsa III. 1408-11.)

52. *Kṣīrasaṭṭika*. Saṭṭika rice cooked with milk. (Yaj. Sm. I. 303, Angv., p. 64).

53. *Kṣīravaṭa*. Fried balls of *Māṣa* pulse poured into milk and mixed with sugar. (Naisadha XVI. 98, Manas III. 1594).

54. *Kṣīrayaṣṭikā*. A preparation of milk mentioned in the Agni Purāṇa. (163.10).

55. *Kulatthakūra*. Rice cooked with Kulattha pulses. (Angv., p. 64).

56. *Kulmāṣa*. (*Gburgri* in Hindi) Probably the early Dravidians used this preparation. It was a coarse gruel prepared by

stewing some inferior food grain and mixing it with treacle and oil. (Chand. Up. I. 10.2).

57. *Kūra*. Same as *Odana*. The Angv. also mentions rice cooked with oil, with mustard and with leaves. (Angv., p. 64).

58. *Kārcikā*. Solid part of inspissated milk. (Kautilya II. 29.26, Caraka Su. V. 9).

59. *Kārcikāb vikṛtib*. (Hindi-*Phate bue dūdb ke khos ki Mitbāī*) Preparations from inspissated milk (Suśruta Su. 46.403).

60. *Ladduka*. Same as *Modaka*. (Naisadha XVI 103, Bhavisayatta XII. 3).

61. *Lājāb*. (Hindi-*Dhān-kī khil*). Parched rice. (Yaj. Sam. XIX. 13 etc. Also see *Madbulājāb*).

62. *Lājamānda*. A beverage prepared with parched rice (Av. V. 5.1).

63. *Locikā*. Delicious cakes prepared with wheat flour. Probably which we call *Lucai* in Hindi (Bharata III. 36-39).

64. *Madbugolaka*. Same as *Modakas*. (Vin. Mv. I. 43. VI. 25.3.)

65. *Madbulājāb*. Parched rice grains mixed with honey or *Guḍa*. (J. 476. etc. Kaut. II. 15. Ram. Ay. 91.56.)

66. *Madbumastaka*. (Hindi-*Pūranpolī*) A kind of cake prepared from wheat flour stuffed with honey and aromatic spices and cooked in ghee. Caraka (Su. 27. 265) calls *Madhusīrṣaka*.

67. *Maduparka*. A mixture of curds, honey and clarified butter (Bṛhad. Up. VI. 4.46).

68. *Majjikā*. Curds churned and mixed with sugar and aromatic spices (Mānasollāsa III. 1573).

69. *Maṇḍa*. A gruel prepared with one part of some cereal or pulse mixed with fourteen parts of water in which salt and spices were used. (Caraka Su. VI. 28).

70. *Maṇḍaka*. (Hindi-*Māṇḍe*) Loaf of bread prepared with powdered wheat or rice flour and mixed with salt, milk and clarified butter. It was baked in a potsherd. (Mānsollāsa III) The Angv. (p. 182) calls it *Maṇḍallaka* and the Divyāvadāna (p. 258) *Maṇḍalikā*. According to Śrikanṭhadatta same as *Madbumastaka*.

71. *Manība*. A paste prepared with parched barley or rice meal mixed with honey water or curds. (Pāṇini VI. 3.60, Asv. Gr. Su. II. 5.3, Caraka Su. VI. 28, Suśruta Su. 46.385).

72. *Mathita*. Curds churned without water. (Mānasollāsa III. 1571).

73. *Modaka*. (Hindi-*Laddū*) Sweets balls prepared with the flour of rice or some pulse and sugar. (Mbh. Anu. 53.18 Angv., p. 182., Ram. Ay. 91.93, Suśruta Su. 46.396).

74. *Moreñdaka*. (Hindi-*Murande*) A sweet prepared with inspissated milk in the shape of the eggs of a peacock. (Angv., p. 182).

75. *Mrīstānna*. (Hindi-*Svadīṣṭha bhōjana*) Savoury agreeable dishes. (Ram. Bal. 53.3, Bharata III. 36-39).

76. *Mudgaudana*. Rice boiled with *Mudga* pulse. (Sankh. Aran. XII. 8.)

77. *Murmura*. A sweet preparation of wheat flour, *guḍa* and some aromatic spices. (Brahma Purāṇa).

78. *Navanīta*. In the time of Suśruta it meant fresh butter churned out of milk (Su. 45.93). Later the word was used in the sense of butter in general.

79. *Odana*. According to Dr. Burrow the Dravidians used boiled rice. In the Rv. (VIII. 69.14) it has the sense of a mess but in the Av. (IV. 14.7) and later boiled rice. It is called *Udayadana* in the Brhad. Up. (VI. 4.16.) Suśruta (Su. 46) mentions two varieties of Odana one in which rice was well washed (*dbasita*) and the other in which rice was not washed before cooking. *Odana* was prepared with clarified butter, meat, fruit, tubers, pulses and milk.

80. *Pālala*. A sweet preparation made of powdered sesamum and *guḍa* (Kāśikā VI. 2.135).

81. *Pābalikā*. Cakes of wheat flour fried in oil which were not very hard. (Mānasollāsa III, 1385).

82. *Paiṣṭika Bbaksya*. (Hindi-*Cāval ke ate ki Mitbāī*) confectionary prepared from rice flour. (Suśruta Su. 46.401).

83. *Pakti*. Either same as *Puroḍāśa* or a liquid preparation as suggested by Dr. K.R. Potdar. (Rv. IV. 24.5 etc.).

84. *Palalaudana*. See *Tilaudana*.

85. *Pāñcaudana*. Five kinds of pure food grains were mixed in this preparation.

86. *Paramānna*. It was prepared by boiling 4 parts of rice (in weight) with 12 parts of milk. Six parts of clarified butter

and 3 parts of *Guda* were added to it. (Angv., p. 220. *Bhojana Kulūhalā*, p. 28).

87. *Parivāpa*. Same as *lājāb* (*Yajurveda*).

88. *Parpāta* Very thin cakes prepared with the flour of some pulse. (*Caraka Su.* 27.271, *Angv.*, p. 182).

89. *Patrikā*. Small circular cakes of wheat flour placed one over the other and fried in oil. (*Mānasollāsa III* 1385-86).

90. *Pāyasa*. (*Hindi-Khir*) Rice cooked with milk and mixed with sugar. (*Gṛhya Sūtras*).

91. *Payasyā*. Same as *Āmikṣā*. (Tait. Bra. V. 11).

92. *Phenaka*. (*Hindi-Pheni*) Cakes of fine wheat flour coated with sugar. (*Angv.*, p. 182. *Suśruta Su.* 46. 399).

93. *Pindaka*. A sweet preparation similar to *Madbumastaka*. (*Caraka Su.* 27.265).

94. *Pīnyāka vikṛti*. A preparation with the viscous sediment of sesamum which was used as a dry vegetable. (*Dalhaṇa* on *Suśruta Su.* 46.382).

95. *Piṣṭaka*. Probably cakes made of powdered rice. (*Pāṇini IV.* 3.147).

96. *Polikā*. (a sweet cake, *Hindi-Pauli*) The *Angv.* (p. 182) calls it *Povalikā*. The *Mānsollāsa* mentions saline cakes baked on charcoals (*Āngārapolikā*) (III, 1375-83).

97. *Pr̥ṣadājā*. A mixture of curds and minute globules of butter in the Vedic times, later a mixture of clarified butter and curds. (Rv. X. 29.6, Tait. Sam. III. 2.62, *Amara. Vaiśya*.)

98. *Pr̥thuka*. (*Hindi-Civdā*) Rice seeds when moist are slightly parched and flattened by the strokes of a pestle. (Tait. Bra. III. 8.14.3, *Baudh Gr. Su.* I. 16.34). *Caraka* also mentions *Pr̥thukas* prepared with barley. (*Su.* 27.272).

99. *Pūpa*. Same as *Apūpa*.

100. *Pūpalikā*. (*Hindi-Malpua*) Small cakes of rice or wheat flour fried in ghee with ghee filled inside and coated with *guda* and saffron. (*Caraka. Su.* 27.266).

101. *Pūraṇa*. Cakes stuffed with boiled and ground *mudga* pulse (*mudga vesavāra*) (*Vāgbhaṭa I. Su. VII*).

102. *Pūrikā*. (*Hindi-Pāpadi*). A cake prepared with gram flour and fried in oil.

103. *Puroḍāsa*. A large rice cake generally dipped in ghee before use (*Mait. Sam. III. 10* and *Av. IX. 6.12* etc.).

104. *Rāga*. A sweet liquid preparation from the juice of sour fruits such as tamarind, rose apple, *parūsaka* and *citrus medica*. (Kaśyapa. Bhojana. 48).

105. *Rāgasādava*. According to some authorities juice of mango fruit cooked with spices and *guḍa* was called *Ragasadava*.

106. *Rājikārāddba*. A preparation of brassica with curds which had a sharp pungent taste (Naiṣadha XVI. 73).

107. *Rasālā*. Same as *Sikbarīñi*. (Ram Ay. 91.73. Mdh. Asv. 89.40 Susruta. Su. 46).

108. *Sādava*. A sweet preparation of sour fruits reduced to thick consistency. (Vin. IV. 2.25, Kasyapa Bhojana. 48).

109. *Saktu*. (Hindi-*Sattū*) Flour of parched barley or rice grains. (Rv. X. 71.2. Tait. Bra. III 8.14. etc.). They were eaten both as a solid ball (*Pindī*) and a paste which could be licked (*Avalebika*). In Susruta's time *Saktus* were taken with acidic fruits, ghee, *guḍa*, sugar, juice of sugarcane, grapes and honey mixed with water. (Susruta Su. 46.412).

110. *Sāmitā*. A preparation of powdered wheat flour stuffed with boiled and ground *Mudga* pulse. (Susruta Su. 46. 398).

111. *Sāmtānikā*. (Hindi-*Malātī*) cream of milk.

112. *Sāmyāva*. (*Cūrmā* in Hindi) Sweet preparation made of wheat flour fried in ghee and mixed with milk and *guḍa* (Pāṇini III. 3.23). Sometimes aromatic spices were added to it.

113. *Sara*. Originally cream in general, later the sense is restricted to cream of curds. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

114. *Sarkarīputrikā*. (*Khand ke khilone* in Hindi) A doll of sugar. (Naiṣadha XVI 104).

115. *Saskulī*. (Hindi-*Kbastā Pūrī*) A cake prepared with rice flour mixed with sesamum fried in ghee or oil. (Early Jain canon and Susruta Su. 46). The Brhat. Saṁ. (76.9) mentions a variety of *Saskulikā* which excited amorous desires. The Angv. (p. 182) calls a variety *Dīrghaṣaṅkulikā*.

116. *Sattaka*. There were many varieties. One variety was prepared by mixing curds with sugar and aromatic spices. Seeds of pomegranate were added to make it more delicious. Susruta Su. 46.397.

117. *Sāviraka*. Probably in the sense of sour gruel in the Vin. (I.210) and later.

118. *Sevikā*. Thread like preparation from refined wheat flour. (*Vilāsavatikathā*).

119. *Sibakesara*. A sweet preparation mentioned in *Antagadadasāo*, p. 10.

120. *Sikbarīni*. A very popular preparation of curds mixed with aromatic spices and sugar. Also see *Rasālā*. (*Caraka Su.* 27.276).

121. *Sindākī vātaka*. Balls prepared by boiling some vegetables such as radish, pressing them to squeeze water and mixing them with aromatic spices. (*Dalhana* on *Suśruta Su.* 46.382).

122. *Sohlā* or *Subalī*. Cakes of wheat flour fried in oil on a very hot fire and coated with sugar. They were quite hard. (*Bhavisayatta*. XII. 3. *Mānasollāsa* III. 1384).

123. *Srikbanda*. Same as *Sikbarīni*.

124. *Srikukkuta*. A preparation from oil cake which was acidic in taste. (*Vag.* II *Cikitsā* 12).

125. *Sṛtam*. Boiled milk as distinguished from fresh milk which is called *Pratidbhuk*. (*Sat. Bra.* III. 3.3.2).

126. *Sthālipāka*. Rice cooked with milk specially for sacrificial purposes. (*Bṛh. Up.* VI. 4.18, *Asv. Gr. Su.* II. 1.5, 3.19).

127. *Sāpa*. Soups with pulses are mentioned in the early Buddhist and Jain canonical works. *Suśruta* (*Su.* 46.310) mentions that some times pulses were slightly parched before cooking.

128. *Suṣka Śāka*. *Suśruta* mentions preparations of sesamum, oil cake, sprouted pulses and *Sindākī* under this category.

129. *Svastika*. A kind of cake prepared with barley flour. In shape it has a wider bottom and a pointed top. The sides are marked by signs. (*Suśruta Uttaratantra* 60.33).

130. *Takra*. (Hindi-*Matthā*, Buttermilk) It contained three parts of curds with one part of water (*Mānasollāsa*. III 1572).

131. *Takraudana*. Boiled rice mixed with butter milk. (*Angv.*, p. 220).

132. *Temana*. A soup prepared with curds. (*Bhavi.* XII. 3 *Amara* II. 9.44).

133. *Tilaudana*. Rice and sesamum boiled in water. (*Bṛh. Up.* VI. 4.17). *Yaj. Sm.* XI 287 calls it *Palalaudana*.

134. *Tilavikrti*. A preparation from sesamum was used as a dry vegetable. (*Dalhana* on *Suśruta Su.* 46.382).

135. *Tilaparpaṇa*. *Parpaṇas* prepared with sesamum are mentioned in the Āca. Su. II. 1.271.

136. *Udaṛvita*. A solution of curds with equal quantity of water. (Mānasollāsa III. 1571).

137. *Udumbara*. Balls of wheat flour stuffed with *Kāśāra* and fried in oil. (Mānasollāsa III. 1388.)

138. *Ulumbāb*. (Hindi-*Hold*) Beans of pulses such as *Mudga* and pea roasted on live charcoals. (Suśruta Su. 46.410).

139. *Uṣṇikā*. *Peyā* variety of *Yavāgū* (Pāṇini V. 27. Angv., p. 180).

140. *Utkārikā*. A sweet dish prepared with rice flour, milk, treacle and ghee. Aruṇadatta equates it with *Lapsikā*. (Caraka. Cikitsa 2. Bharata III. 36-39. Div. 500.23).

141. *Uttaribbaṅga*. Delicacies of food taken after the meals (Vin. II. 214. etc.). It is called *Pachiyauri* in the Padmāvata, pp. 284-285. It was a sweet dish which was served in the last.

142. *Vaidalāb*. Confectionary made of pulses such as *Mudga*. (Suśruta Su. 46.402) Bower MSS I. 24 uses the word in the sense of cooked pulses.

143. *Vājina*. Liquid part of a mixture of curds and boiled milk. (Sat. Bra. III. 3.3.2).

144. *Varṣopalagolaka*. Sweet balls of rice flour prepared by mixing sugar and the powder of cardamom and camphor. (Naiṣadha XVI. 100, Mānasollāsa III. 1415-1417).

145. *Vartikāb*. Sweets in the form of a roll. (Suśruta Su. 46).

146. *Vatāka*. (Hindi-*Bade*) Probably the early Dravidians used *Vatakas*. Balls prepared with *Māṣa* pulse soaked in water and ground on a piece of stone and then fried in oil or ghee (Vas. Dh. Su. XIV. 37). The Mānasollāsa mentions *vatakas* dropped in sour gruel (*kāñjika vatāka* III. 1404) and another variety called *Manabvatāka* (III. 1405-1409).

147. *Vatikā*. (Hindi-*Batiān*) Balls prepared with *Māṣa* pulse soaked in water after removing the outer covering and grinding it on a piece of stone. Before the balls were prepared the ground paste was allowed to ferment for a few days (Mānasollāsa III. 1397-99).

148. *Vātya*. (Hindi-*Daliyā*) Caraka (Su. 27.263.) mentions porridge prepared with parched barley (*Yāvakāb vātyab*).

149. *Vesṭikā*. (Hindi-Bedavī) A cake of wheat flour in which gram pulse mixed with aromatic spices is used as stuffing. (Mānasollāsa III. 1391-92).

150. *Vidalapāka*. A soup prepared with pulses of gram, *rājamāṣa*, *masūra*, *rājamudga* and slightly parched *ādbakī*. The waters of asafoetida, turmeric and rock salt were added to it before use. (Mānasollāsa III 1359-69).

151. *Vimardaka*. A preparation of groats and clarified butter. (Vāgbhaṭa II, Uttara 39).

152. *Virūḍbaka*. Sprouted cereals which were used as dry vegetables and some sweets were also prepared from them. (Suśruta. Su. 46).

153. *Vistārin*. Warm fresh milk with curds. (Av. IV. 34.1).

154. *Visyanda*. A preparation of rice fried in ghee and mixed with treacle which was neither too thick nor too thin in consistency (Suśruta. Su. 46.398).

155. *Vitānaka*. A sweet mentioned in the Matsya Purāṇa 268.6.30.

156. *Vyañjana*. A condiment in the early Buddhist canon. But in the Jain canon it is used in the sense of seasoned food.

157. *Yāvaka*. A porridge prepared by pounding barley with a pestle and mortar to remove the chaff and then boiling the pearl grain in water or milk with sugar added to it. (Pāṇini V. 4.29).

158. *Yavāgū*. In the Yajurveda it seems to be a barley gruel. Rice gruel is mentioned as a wholesome and health giving article of food in the Mahāvagga VI. 24.5. A spiced variety (*Trikaṭuka*) was used in cases of illness (Vin. VI. 17.1). Pāṇini mentions two varieties of *yavāgū* one which was taken in liquid form (*peyā*) and the other which was licked as a paste (*vilepi*). The latter is called *Nakbanipaca* by Pāṇini because it scorched the ends of fingers. Caraka mentions a *peyā* prepared with parched rice (*lājapeyā*). The Āṅgovijjā (p. 179) mentions *yavāgus* prepared with milk, clarified butter and oil. Suśruta (Su.46.376) means a gruel prepared with fruit juices which he calls *Khaḍa yavāgū*.

159. *Yūṣa*. A soup generally prepared by cooking cereals and pulses with buttermilk, but the Kāśyapa. Saṁ. (p. 250. 19.24)

also mentions *Yūṣas* prepared with fruits, vegetables and spices. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta. Su. 46.376).

B.—Non-vegetarian Preparations.

1. *Āngārapakvam māṁsam*. Meat roasted on live charcoal. It is also called *Pratapta*. (Early Jain canon, Mṛcchakatīka, p. 98).

2. *Antraśunṭhaka*. *Suṇṭhakas* prepared with entrails, well washed and roasted on spikes, mixed with salt. (Manas III. 1492-93).

3. *Bhaditraka*. Pieces of clean meat, bored with some holes which were filled with some spices, these pieces were roasted on spits and some spices were added. (Manas III. 1462-68).

4. *Bbarjitatamānsa*. Meat fried in ghee or oil. (Suśruta Su. 46.357-58, Early Jain canon).

5. *Bhr̥ṣṭa māṁsa*. Meat fried in ample quantity of clarified butter. (Dalhaṇa on Suśruta. Su. 46.353).

6. *Bhūṣikā*. *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat prepared with some roasted and spiced meat inside. (Manas III. 1476-81).

7. *Cakkalikās*. Were *Suṇṭhakas* cut in the form of palm leaves which were dropped in curds mixed with sugar and some aromatic spices. (Manas. III 1436-37).

8. *Dakalāvaṇika*. Meat soup prepared with salt, dryginger etc. (Vagbhata II. Cikitsa).

9. *Kandupacita Māṁsa*. Meat prepared with aromatic spices and covered with brassica powder which was roasted in a *kandu* (oven) till it was deep red in colour. (Suśruta. Su. 46.356).

10. *Kavacands*. Flesh of a sheep carved into the form of plums was mixed with some powdered spices, and grams and fried in oil with pieces of some vegetables. (Manas III 1453-56).

11. *Khaniska*. Dalhaṇa mentions it as a kind of *Vesavāra*.

12. *Kosali*. *Vaṭakas* of pasted meat covered with grains of rice and roasted on fire. (Manas. III. 1476-82).

13. *Kṛṣṇapāka*. Flesh of sheep dressed in the shape of betelnuts and cooked with some blood, sour fruits and spices. (Manas. III. 1473-75).

14. *Māṁsandana*. Meat cooked with rice (Bṛhad. Up. VI. 4.18). The Mahābhārata (Sabhā 49.9.) calls it *Pītītandana*. (Patañjali II.3.1, p. 459 1.1.)

15. *Māmīsabbūtandana*. A tasty preparation of meat, rice, vegetables and spices cooked together. (Ram. Ay. 52.89).

16. *Māmīsasiddha amla yavāgū*. A sour gruel prepared with meat. (Kāmasūtra, Suśruta. Su. 46.351).

17. *Mandalya*. Entrails of an animal filled with spices and marrow and roasted on charcoal. (Manas III. 1494-1498).

18. *Nisphāna*. Tasty preparations with the flesh of goats and boars. (Rāmāyaṇa. Ay. 91.67 etc., Amara. Vaiśya 44).

19. *Pāñcavarnī*. Pieces of entrail and liver cooked with spices. (Manas III. 1488-91).

20. *Parīṣṭakamāṁsa*. (Seasoned meat) Kauṭilya puts seasoned meat in the category of vegetables. Raw meat was first fried in ghee then it was soaked in warm water and preserved in spices such as cumin. Its daily use is not recommended in the medical works. (Kauṭilya II. 15.22, Caraka. Su. V.10.)

21. *Piṣṭa*. Meat pasted, formed into balls and cooked with curds, juice of pomegranates, and aromatic spices. (Suśruta Su. 46.)

22. *Pradigdbamāṁsa*. Meat cooked with milk and ghee. Sugar was added to make it more delicious. (Kāśyapa Saṁ., p. 359, Suśruta. Su. 46.353.)

23. *Pūrabattāka*. Fruit of brinjal filled with pasted meat and fried in oil. (Manas. III.1483-85).

24. *Puryalā*. Pieces of clean meat chopped in the form of *Āmalaka* fruit cooked with spices, acid fruits, and *Sunthakas* and fumigated with garlic and asafoetida. (Manas III. 1457-61).

25. *Rasa*. Meat soup. Sometimes the expression *Māṁsa rasa* is used. (Suśruta Su. 46. 376., Bower MSS. II. 14).

26. *Saurāva*. The upper part of meat soup. (Suśruta Su. 46.362).

27. *Siddhamāṁsa*. Meat seasoned by frying in ghee with cumin, salt and pepper. (Early Jain canon. and Suśruta. Su. 46).

28. *Sūlyā Māṁsa*. Meat roasted on spikes. (Rv. I.162.11, Pāṇini IV.2.17, Uttara XIX. 70, Sakuntalā II).

29. *Sunthaka*. Pieces were cut from the roasted body of a pig and again roasted on fire. The pieces were then mixed with the powder of salt and black pepper. (Manas. III. 1430-35).

30. *Ullupta Māṁsa*. Minced meat. (Suśruta. Su. 46.354).

31. *Vattimaka*. Pasted meat formed into the shape of ball and roasted on fire or fried in oil. (Manas. III. 1486-87).

32. *Vesavāra*. Boneless flesh boiled and pasted on a piece of stone with some aromatic spices. It was cooked in ghee with *guḍa*. (Mbh. Anu. 53. 17, Susruta Su. 46.364-65).

33. *Vimardaka*. A meat preparation made by dressing meat in various ways. (Caraka. Su. 27.276).

34. *Vṛṣya Pūpalikā*. An omelet made of clarified butter, rice flour and eggs of crocodile. (Caraka. Cikitsā II. 28-29).

35. *Yūṣan*. Meat boiled in pots. (Rv. I. 162.13). A thin decoction of meat soup is called *acbarasaka yūṣa* in the Kāma-sūtra (II. 10.15).

APPENDIX VIII
BEVERAGES

A. Intoxicating Drinks

1. *Āksikī Sidbu.* Prepared from *Āksa* fruit. (Caraka Su. 27.184).
2. *Ariṣṭa.* A tincture of medicines in which solid ingredients predominate. (Kaut. II. 25.21, Caraka Su. 2. 180 Suśruta Su. 45.194).
3. *Āsava.* An extract of *Kapittha*, (Ferronia elephantidin) inspissated juice of sugarcane and honey with some spices. In this drink the liquid part predominates. (Kauṭilya II. 25.19 and 29, Suśruta Su. 45.194).
4. *Avadātikā.* A variety of wine mentioned by Pāṇini V.4.3.
5. *Bakkasa.* Solid ingredients of liquor devoid of liquid part. (Suśruta. Su. 45.181).
6. *Bijottarā.* A variety of liquor mentioned by Kaut. II. 25.
7. *Dhātakyābbisuta.* Prepared from the flowers of *Dhātaki* (Caraka Su. 27.186).
8. *Divyā.* An intoxicating drink prepared from the bark of *Kadamba* tree.
9. *Gaudī.* Intoxicating drinks prepared from *Guda* (Manu XI.95). *Gaudyāsava* was an *āsava* from *guda*.
10. *Hārabūraka.* A wine imported from Afghanistan. (Kaut. II. 25.25).
11. *Jagala.* Residue of *Surā*. (Caraka Su. 27.179. Suśruta Su. 45.180).
12. *Jāti.* An intoxicating drink prepared from *Jati* flowers. (Vipaka II. 19).
13. *Kādambarī.* Distilled from ripe *Kadamba* fruit. (Amara. II. 10. 40).
14. *Kālikā.* A variety of wine mentioned by Pāṇini (V.4.3).
15. *Kāpiśāyanī.* A variety of wine imported from Afghanistan. (Pāṇini IV. 2.29, Kauṭilya II. 25.25).

16. *Kaṣāya*. Decoctions of rice meal and flowers. (Pāṇini VI.2.10).
17. *Kaula*. Prepared from jujube fruit. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).
18. *Kharjūra*. Prepared from dates. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83, Suśruta Su. 45.174).
19. *Kilāla*. A sweet drink prepared from cereals. (Av. IV.11.10 etc.).
20. *Kobala*. It was prepared from parched barley flour.
21. *Kṛta Surā*. Fermented *sura*. (Ram. Sundara 11. 22-3).
22. *Madbī*. A liquor prepared from honey. (Manu XI. 95).
23. *Madbavī*. An intoxicating drink prepared from *Madbūka* flowers. (Mbh. Virat. 16.3).
24. *Madvāsava*. An āśava prepared from *Madbūka* flowers. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23, Caraka Su. 27.185).
25. *Madirā*. Cream of *Surā*. (Mbh. Santi. 24.20. Caraka. Su. 27.178).
26. *Madya*. All kinds of strong liquors. (Caraka. Su. 27.191).
27. *Maireya*. Spiced liquor with *guda* or sugar prepared from the bark of *mēsaśrīgi*. (*gynema sylvestre*). It was a favourite drink of the aristocratic circles. (Pāṇini VI. 2.70, Kaut. II. 25.22, Caraka Su. 27. 185.)
28. *Mārdvīka*. Wine from grapes. It is called *Madbu* by Kauṭilya. (Kauṭilya II. 25.24, Suśruta Su. 45.172, Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).
29. *Māsara*. A fermented liquor prepared with a mixture of mess of rice (*Syāmāka*) and some spices. From Dr. Burrow's studies we conclude that this variety was used by the ancient Dravidians. (Yajurveda, Katya. Sr. Su. XIX. 1.20.22).
30. *Medaka*. A variety of *surā* prepared from rice, yeast cake, honey and some spices. (Kauṭilya II. 25.7).
31. *Nārikelāsava*. Prepared from the juice of cocoanut. (Viṣṇu Dh. Su. 22.83, Ragh. IV. 65).
32. *Paiṣṭi*. *Surā* prepared from rice or barley meal. (Manu XI. 94-95).
33. *Parisruta*. An intoxicating drink prepared either from flowers or by fermenting certain grasses (Av. XX. 127.7-8).

34. *Phalāsava*. An *āsava* prepared from fruits such as date fruit. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23).

35. *Prasannā*. A variety of *surā* prepared with rice meal and some spices which had often an oily substance. It is called cream of *surā*. (Kauṭilya. II. 25.18 Suśruta Su. 45.178).

36. *Puspāsava*. An *āsava* prepared from flowers such as those of *Madhučaka*. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23).

37. *Rasottarā*. Prepared from the juice of sugarcane. (Kaut. II. 25).

38. *Sabakārasurā*. Prepared from the juice of mango fruit. (Kaut. II. 25).

39. *Sāmbhārīkī*. A liquor in which the spices predominate e.g. *Maireya*. (Kaut. II. 25).

40. *Sarkarāsava* or *Sarkarāśidbu*. An *āsava* prepared from red sugar. (Ram. Sundara. 11.23. Caraka. Su. 27.181).

41. *Satau*. A strong intoxicating drink which did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times. (Jambu. 20. p. 99 f.).

42. *Śidbu*. Prepared with the juice of sugarcane and *dhātakī* flowers. It seems to have been a favourite drink of non Aryans. (Rama. Sundara. 11.26 and 32). Two kinds of *Śidbus* are mentioned one prepared from boiled juice. (Caraka Su. 27.182) and the other from unboiled juice. (Caraka Su. 27.183).

43. *Surā*. Generally prepared with barley or rice flour, but sometimes *Madhuśikā* variety of wheat was also used. (Caraka Su. 27.188). It was an intoxicating drink of the common people in the Vedic period. (Rv. VIII. 2.12. etc.).

44. *Surāsava*. An *āsava* in which *surā* was used in place of water. (Caraka. Su. 27.185).

45. *Svetasurā*. Same spices were used in it as in preparing the *Prasannā* variety.

46. *Tilakka*. An intoxicating drink prepared from palm fruit. From Dr. Burrow's studies we conclude that the ancient Dravidians knew the art of toddy tapping. From the account of Pliny it is clear that palm liquor was used by Indians before the 1st century A.D. (Jiva III. 264).

47. *Tanka*. Prepared from the fruit of *Kapittha*. (Viśṇu Dh. Su. 22.83).

48. *Vārūpi*. A strong liquor prepared by fermenting the juices of palm fruit and dates. It brought about unconsciousness as soon as it was drunk. (Ram Ay. 114.20).

B. Other Beverages

1. *Ācāma*. Scum of boiled rice. (Aca. I. 642).
2. *Āmalaka pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Āmalaka*. (Aca. I. 599).
3. *Amlikā pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of tamarind. (Aca. II. 1.264).
4. *Āmra pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of mango fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. I. 599).
5. *Āmrātaka pāna*. Syrup prepared with the juice of hog plum. (Aca. I. 599).
6. *Anna rasa*. Drinks prepared from cereals or pulses. (Rama Ay. 54.18).
7. *Ciñcā pānaka*. A drink prepared by mixing milk with the juice of tamarind and straining the mixture in a clean piece of cloth. It was mixed with crystal sugar and powder of cardamom (Manas. III. 1581-84).
8. *Cocapāna*. Syrup prepared with the juice of plantain. (Vin. I. 246).
9. *Cūrṇādhibhāsin*. Water boiled with the powder of cloves, camphor, saffron, sandal wood, *ultra*, *citraka*, *kañkola*, *haritaki* and *karcūra*, all taken in equal quantities. (Manas. III 1622-23).
10. *Dādima pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of pomegranate. (Aca. I. 599).
11. *Dhānyāmla*. See vegetarian preparation.
12. *Drāksāpānaka*. Syrup prepared with grape juice. (Caraka Su. 27).
13. *Gudodaka*. Water mixed with *gūda*. (Mahāvagga VI. 27) Suśruta mentions two varieties, one acidic and the other sweet. (Su. 46.388).
14. *Hariṣodaka*. Water boiled by the rays of the Sun during the day and cooled by the rays of the Moon at night. (Manas III. 1616).
15. *Himapānaka*. A syrup prepared with snow is mentioned by Dalhana.
16. *Iksurasa*. The juice of sugarcane. (Caraka Su. 27).

17. *Jambū pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of rose apple. (Vin. I. 246).
18. *Kāñjika*. Sour gruel was prepared from cereals. (Caraka Su. 27).
19. *Kapittba pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Kapittba* fruit. (Aca. I. 599).
20. *Karīra pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the fruit of *Karīra*. (Aca. I. 599).
21. *Karkandbu pānaka*. It was prepared by pounding berries, treacle, black pepper, saffron, cardamom and mixing it with the juice of *Jāti* flowers. (Bhela. Sam. p. 218).
22. *Kāśmarya pānaka*. To make this *pānaka* juices of *kāśmarya*, *madbhūka*, *parīṣaka*, grapes and pomegranate were mixed with the powder of *kuṭaja*, *madbhūka*, *lodhra*, *mañjisṭha*, cardamom and long pepper. Water was added to the mixture. (Bhela. Sam. p. 219).
23. *Khaṇḍapānaka*. Syrup made from raw sugar. (Suśruta Su. 46.389).
24. *Kbarjūra pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of dates. (Caraka Su. 27.277, Aca. Su. II. 1.264, Vag. II. 3.32).
25. *Kola pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of jujube. (Aca. Su. II. 1.264. Caraka. 27.277).
26. *Lakuca pānaka*. Juice of *Lakuca* fruit. (Vayu. 46.9).
27. *Madbu pānaka*. Syrup prepared by mixing water with honey. (Vin. I. 246, Caraka Su. 27.278, Vag. II. Su. III. 32).
28. *Mātulīṅga pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of *Citrus medica*. (Aca. II. 1.266).
29. *Moca pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of cocoanut fruit. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. II. 1.264).
30. *Mydvikā pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of grapes. (Vin. I. 246, Aca. Su. II. 1.264, Suśruta. Su. 46.388) Caraka calls it *Drāksā pānaka*.
31. *Nārikela pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of Cocoanut fruit. Aca. I. 599.
32. *Nimbuka pānaka*. Syrup prepared with the juice of lemon. (Caraka. Su. 27).
33. *Pañcāmyta*. The juices of any three of cocoanut, mango, jack and banana fruits mixed with honey and sugar. (Baudh. Gr. Ses. Su., p. 277).

34. *Pañcadasha*. A strong mixture of *Soma* juice. *Rv.* X.
27.2.

35. *Pañca sāra pānaka*. A drink prepared by boiling water with five spices such as ginger, *Asana* and *Nāgaramothbā*. (*Vag.* II. III. 31.) Someśvara (*Manas* III. 1622-23) calls a similar drink *Cūrṇādhibivāsin*.

36. *Parūṣaka pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice of *Parūṣaka* fruit. (*Vin.* I. 246, *Caraka Su.* 27.278).

37. *Piṇḍavāsa*. Water prepared by pouring into it a clay ball stuffed with some spices after roasting it in the live char-coals of *khadira* wood. (*Manas* III. 1619-20).

38. *Pratipāna*. A drink which helps the digestion of food. (*Ram. Ay.* 91.78).

39. *Puspavāsa*. Water fumigated with the juice of mango fruit, and flowers of *Pātala*, *utpalā* and *campa*. (*Manas* III. 1621).

40. *Rāga*. See vegetarian preparations. (*Vag.* II. 6.30).

41. *Rasālā*. See vegetarian preparations. (*Vag.* II. 6.30).

42. *Sādava*. See vegetarian preparations. (*Vag.* II. 6.30).

43. *Sarkarāpānaka*. Water mixed with sugar. (*J.* I. 339, *Suśruta Su.* 46. 388-89).

44. *Sāluka pānaka*. A syrup prepared with the juice extracted from the roots of waterlily. (*Vin.* I. 246).

45. *Sauvīra*. Same as *Dhānyāmla*. (*Aca.* I. 642).

46. *Soma* juice. The *Soma* plant grew on the mountains especially on the mountain Maujavanta which is a part of the Himalayas. It was obtained with difficulty in the later Vedic period hence many substitutes were suggested. Some scholars have explained *Soma* juice as an intoxicating drink like liquor but the evidence before us does not justify the conclusion. *Soma* juice was mixed with milk, with curds and parched barley flour but liquor is never mixed with these things. Prof. J. C. Ray was of opinion that *Soma* plant was nothing but *Bhang* because both are annuals coming up at the beginning of the rainy season, both have shining leaves and the method of preparation of both is the same and effects of the drink on the consumer remarkably agree. In spite of so many similarities pointed by Prof. Ray, the identification seems hardly convincing in view of the fact that the plant had become almost extinct even in the later

Vedic period and the intoxicating effect which *Bhang* has on the consumer is nowhere described in the Vedic literature. Watt in the Dicy. of Eco. Products of India Vol. II., p. 246-47 in 1889 had identified the plant with *Ephedra* and Dr. J.M. Unwala has, on the basis of Vedic and Avestan references, come to the same conclusion. Soma juice was a favourite drink of the Vedic Indians (Rv. IX etc.) and occupied an important place in the Vedic ritual even in the Dharmasūtras.

47. *Tilodaka*. Water mixed with sesamum (Patañjali on VI. 2.96).

48. *Tusodaka*. Water mixed with chaff (Aca. I. 642).

49. *Vārkṣa*. The juice of the fruit of cocoanut. (Mānasollāsa III. 1615).

50. *Yavodaka*. Water mixed with barley grains. (Aca. I. 642).

51. *Yūṣa*. Juices of *Kapittha*, *bilva*, jujube, grapes, pomegranate and mango were cooked to prepare soups (Kas. Sam. p. 250.46).

APPENDIX IX

BOOKS ON FOOD AND DRINKS CONSULTED
BY THE AUTHOR

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2. Annapāna Vidhi ascribed to Suṣena. Tanjore, 1950.
3. Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya by Vāgbhaṭa II Sūtra, Chapter V, VI and VIII.
4. Aṣṭāṅga Saṅgraha by Vāgbhaṭa I Sūtra Ch. VI and VII.
5. Bhojana Kutūhala—by Raghunātha.
6. Caraka Saṁhitā with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, Sūtra Ch. 27.
7. History of Dharmaśāstra Vol. II Part II. Ch. XXII by P. V. Kane, Poona, 1941.
8. India as described in Jain Canon by J. C. Jain, Chapter IV.
9. India as known to Pāṇini by V. S. Agrawal, Ch. III Sec. 6, Lucknow, 1953.
10. India in the Time of Patañjali by B. N. Puri (Bombay, 1957) Chapter, IV.
11. Kāśyapa Saṁhitā—Bhojana Kalpādhyāya, Khila Sthāna-Yūṣa, Pāniya, Mānisa, Deśasātmya.
12. Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization by Sir John Marshall Vol. I. Chapter 4.
13. Pākadarpaṇa ascribed to Nala.
14. Social and Religious Life in the Gṛhya Sūtras by V. M. Apte, Chapter IX.
15. Some Aspects of Indian Civilization, Ch. II, by G. P. Majumdar.
16. Suśruta Saṁhitā with the commentary of Daṇḍaṇa. Sūtra. Chs. 45-46.
17. Tāmbūla Mañjari—by J. S. Pade M. S. University Baroda Oriental Series, 1957.

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1. Bhāvaprakāśa of Bhāvamiśra.
2. Vanauṣadhi Guṇādarśa by Pade Sastri.

3. Pākaśāstra by Yaśodā Devī.
4. Rikamapanaci—Kāmagiri.
5. Gṛhiṇīmitra—Lakṣmībāī Dhurandhar.
6. Caryā Padmākara—Satyaśodhaka Press.
7. Pāka Darpaṇa—Ahmedabad Press.
8. Caryā Candrodaya—Datta Rama Pathaka.
9. Rasa Vyāñjana Prakāśa—Gaṅgā Viṣṇu Śrīkṛṣṇa Dās.
10. Vyāñjana Pāka Pradipā—Siddhakavi.
11. Bhojana Darpaṇa Mālā—N. R. Kadam.
12. Mahārāṣṭriya Svayam Pāka—Baroda State Series.
13. Pāka Śāstra—Satya Sodhaka Press.
14. Caryā Darpaṇa—Pt. Raghunatha Prasad, Aufre Ch. 7, C.C.I.
332.
15. Pākādi Saṅgraha—Med. B. 4228.
16. Pākādhyāya—Med. Oxf. 3196 B.
4228 dated Samvat 1823 = 1767 A.D.
17. Pākāvalī—Med. 1042 Pheh 2
Radh 32
Brhati and Laghvi
Burnell 699
Opper 4007 Peters 3339.

C. C. 1174

18. Pākamārtanda or Pākāvalī—Med. B. L. 232.
19. Pākaśāstra—Cookery by Bhimasena, Govt. Oriental Library Madras, 49.
20. Pākārṇava—Peters 4.40.
21. Pākāvalī—Med. 10.42, 2098 different Peters 4.40.

C. C. 11171.

22. Pākamārtanda on various medicament and their preparation A.K. 932.
23. Pākaśāstra—Cookery—Bd. 983.
24. Pāka Sudhākara—Med. Quoted by the author of Pāka Mārtanda A.K. Pref. p. 17.
25. Pākāvalī—Med. by Upādhyāya Sarasvata Kulodbhava. Madras Des Cata. XXIII. Medicine 1918.
26. Madras MSS No. 13381 of Sūpaśāstra is described as a treatise bearing on cookery (108 pp). The work is attributed to Bhimasena (pp. 9009-10 of Madras Cat. XXIII-1818).
27. Gṛhiṇī Śikṣā Part I.

APPENDIX X

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1. Aiyar, A.K.Y.N.—The Antiquity of some Field and Forest Flora of India Q.J.M.S. (New Series) Vol. XLII 1951-52.
2. Aiyar, L.V.R.—Dravidian Eating and Drinking I.H.Q.36.
3. Burrow, T.—Dravidian Studies VII Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 1947-48 pp. 365-396.
4. Chakravarti, T.N.—Some Flora mentioned in early medical literature of Bengal and some popular taboos about the use of certain fruits and vegetables P.O. Vol. XV 1950.
5. Dharma, P.C.—Some Customs and Beliefs from the Rāmāyaṇa P.O. Vol. II. No. 2 and 3.
6. Dharma, P.C.—Social Life in the Rāmāyaṇa Q.J.M.S. Bengal Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1-19 (1937-38).
7. Diksitar, V.R.R.—South Indian Customs in the Smṛtis. Indian Culture, Calcutta Vol V. 1938-39.
8. Diksitar, V.R.R.—A Note on Cow Veneration in Ancient India. F.W. Thomas Commemoration Volume. Bombay 1939.
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10. Ganguli, R.—Cultivation in Ancient India. I.H.Q., 1930-31.
11. Gode, P.K.—History of Alfalfa or *Methikā* between A.D. 700—and A.D. 1800 A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXXIII, 1953, pp. 171-81.
12. Gode, P.K.—History of *Jondhala*, B.C. Law Commemoration Volume I, pp. 142-158, Calcutta, 1945.
13. Gode, P.K.—Some Notes on the History of Indian Dietetics with special reference to *Jalebī*. New Indian Antiquary Vol. VI, 1943, pp. 169-181.
14. Gode, P.K.—History of *Avarāṇna* Jain Antiquary Vol. II. Jan. 1947, pp. 1-8.
15. Gode, P.K.—Use of Fried Grains in Indian Diet A.B.O.R.I. XXIX. 1948.

16. Gode, P.K.—History of Almond in India A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXIX, 1948.
17. Gode, P.K.—History of Spittoon in India A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXXVI Parts III & IV.
18. Gode, P.K.—History of Dishes *Idli* and *Dose*. S.K. Chatterji Volume, 1955.
19. Gode, P.K.—History of the Fig (*Ficus Carica*) New Indian Antiquary Vol. 4 Bombay, 1941-42.
20. Gode, P.K.—Some Notes on the history of *Canaka* 500 B.C. to 1820 A.D. A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXVII Parts 1-2, 1946.
21. Gode, P.K.—Notes on the History of Fig. I.H.Q. 1943.
22. Gode, P.K.—History of *Canaka* (gram) as food for horses between A.D. 800-1870. A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXVI (1945).
23. Gode, P.K.—Reference to *Tāmbūla* in Indian Inscriptions between A.D. 473 and 1800, 'Satupa Bharati' Hoshiarpur 1954.
24. Gode, P.K.—The Attitude of Hindu Dharmasāstras towards *Tāmbūla Bhoga*, Journal of Oriental Institute Baroda, March, 1952.
25. Gode, P.K.—History of the verse about the Thirteen Qualities of *Tāmbūla* Between A.D. 1200-1900, A.B.O.R.I. Vol. XXXI (1951).
26. Gode, P.K.—The use of Lime (*Cūrṇa*) and Catechu (*Khadira*) in *Tāmbūla* and its Antiquity. 150th Anniversary Volume of the Asiatic Society Bombay, 1957.
27. Gode, P.K.—Reference to Tobacco in Marathi Literature between 1600-1900 P. O. Vol. XX No. 1-4.
28. Iyengar, P.T.S.—The Trade of India I.H.Q., 1926.
29. Krishna Deva and Mc Cown, D.E.—Further Explorations in Sind Ancient India No. 5., pp. 12-30, 1949.
30. Lal, B.B.—Excavations at Hastinapur Ancient India Nos. 10 & 11 (1954-1955).
31. Law, N.N.—Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilization I.H.Q. Vol. VII 1938.
32. Levi, S.—Alexander and Alexandria in India, I.H.Q., 1936.
33. Majumdar, G.P.—Vedic Plants, B.C. Law Commemoration Vol. I Calcutta, 1945, pp. 645-668.
34. Majumdar, N.G.—Explorations in Sind Archaeological Survey of India Memoir No. 48, Delhi, 1934.

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APPENDIX XII
CHRONOLOGY OF IMPORTANT SOURCES

1.	Indus Valley Civilization	C. 3000 B.C.
2.	Maheshwar Neveda Toli Culture ..	..	C. 1200 B.C.
3.	Hastinapur Culture ..	..	C. 800 B.C.
4.	The Rgveda ..	..	C. 2000 B.C.
5.	The Yajurveda, the Atharvaveda, the Brähmaṇas and the Upaniṣads		Before 800 B.C.
6.	Sūtras and Pāṇini ..	..	800 B.C.—300 B.C.
7.	Early Buddhist Canon ..	..	C. 300 B.C.
8.	Kauṭilya ..	..	C. 300 B.C. to 100 A.D.
9.	Patañjali ..	..	C. 150 B.C.
10.	The Rāmāyaṇa, The Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti		4th Cent. B.C. to 4th Cent. A.D.
11.	Baudh. Gr. Śeṣa Sūtra and Saṁhitā of Caraka.		After the Christian Era 1st or 2nd Cent. A.D.
12.	Kāśyapa Saṁhitā		
	Bhojanakalpa ..	..	2nd Cent. B.C.—C. 400 A.D.
	Khila Sthāna ..	..	300-400 A.D.
13.	Yājñavalkya Smṛti and Viṣṇu Dharma Sūtra ..	..	100 A.D.—300 A.D.
14.	Bṛhaspati Smṛti ..	..	100—400 A.D.
15.	Suśruta Saṁhitā ..	..	C. 4th Cent. A.D.
16.	Āngavijjā ..	..	C. 4th Cent. A.D.
17.	Bower. MSS... ..	..	C. 3rd or 4th Cent. A.D.
18.	Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇa ..	..	3rd or 4th Cent. A.D.
19.	Kāmasūtra ..	..	C. 450 A.D.
20.	Early Jain Canon ..	..	Before 5th Cent. A.D.
21.	Sabara ..	..	200—500 A.D.
22.	Laṅkāvatārasūtra ..	..	Prior to 443 A.D.
23.	Varāhamihira Bṛhatsaṁhitā ..	..	505—587 A.D.
24.	Kātyāyana Smṛti ..	..	400—600 A.D.
25.	Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha ..	..	C. 625 A.D.

26.	Yuan Chwang and Bāna's Harṣa-			
	carita and Kādambati	..	..	606—648 A.D.
27.	Kāśikā	..	..	662 A.D.
28.	Raviṣeṇa-Padmā Purāṇa	..	..	678 A.D.
29.	Itsing	..	..	671—695 A.D.
30.	Vakpati-Gauḍavaho	..	..	725 A.D.
31.	Kumārila-Tantravārtika	..	..	650—750 A.D.
32.	Kāmandaka Nītiśāra	..	..	700—750 A.D.
33.	Pauma Cariā	..	..	677—760 A.D.
34.	Kuṭṭanimatam	..	..	755—786 A.D.
35.	Dhanvantari Nighantu	..	..	Before 800 A.D.
36.	Vaṛāha Purāṇa	..	..	C. 800 A.D.
37.	Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya	..	..	C. 850 A.D.
38.	Skanda Purāṇa	..	..	600—900 A.D.
39.	Later Smṛtis	..	..	600—900 A.D.
40.	Agni Purāṇa	..	..	800—900 A.D.
41.	Rājaśekhara	..	..	C. 900 A.D.
42.	Medhātithi on Manu	..	..	C. 900 A.D.
43.	Nala Campu	..	..	915 A.D.
44.	Yaśastilaka-Campu	..	..	959 A.D.
45.	Vāmana Purāṇa	..	..	9th or 10th Cent. A.D.
46.	Vṛinda	..	..	9th or 10th Cent. A.D.
47.	Nala—a writer on cookery	..	..	Before 1000 A.D.
48.	Dhanapāla-Bhavisayattakahā	..	..	10th Cent. A.D.
49.	Garuḍa Purāṇa	..	..	10th Cent. A.D.
50.	Alberuni	..	..	973—1048 A.D.
51.	Kṣirasvāmī on the Amarakośa	..	..	1050 A.D.
52.	Mitākṣarā on the Yājñavalkya Sm.	..	..	1070—1100 A.D.
53.	Dalhana on Suśruta	..	..	C. 1100 A.D.
54.	Kumārapāla carita	..	..	C. 1100 A.D.
55.	Aparārka on Yāj. Smṛti	..	..	1125 A.D.
56.	Someśvara-Mānasollāsa	..	..	1127 A.D.
57.	Padma Purāṇa and Brahma Purāṇa	..	..	900—1200 A.D.
58.	Naisadha carita	..	..	1150—1200
59.	Sandesa Rāsaka	..	..	12th Cent.

INDEX

A

Abbibri, 13 f.n. 3.
Abbiśuka, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Abbyūja, 41, 179, 284.
Abrāhmaṇa, 100.
Ācāma, 85, 301.
Aecharastakayūjām, 177 f.n. 4.
Ādāra, 22 f.n. 5, 44.
Ādākṣi, 37 f.n. 2, 61, 135, 166, 171
f.n. 1, 203 f.n. 1, 263.
Adri, 32.
Aggle marmelos, 21, also see *Bilva*.
Agastya, 272.
Aghnyā, 17.
Agnimantaka, 272.
Aguru, 113 f.n. 4.
Ābava, 32.
Abicchatra; food of the people of; 201.
Ainduka, 150 f.n. 1.
Aīnguda, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Aīravata, 266.
Aīgandhā, 279.
Aījātī, 92 f.n. 5, 113 f.n. 4, 279, also
see Cumin.
Ājīvikas, 86.
Ājīva, 15 f.n. 5, 105 f.n. 4.
Ākṣikī pāla, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Ākṣikīśādbu, 298.
Ākṣota, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Ākuṣṭhaka, 61 f.n. 3, 260.
Ālābā, 2, 22, 73 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1,
272, see Bottle gourd.
Āluka, 73 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1, 184, 272.
Ālinḍā, 79.
Ālinjara, 190, f.n. 2.
Ālisāṇḍaga, 62 f.n. 3, 263.
Almonds, 149.
Aloes, 113.
Āmalaka, 21, 71, 72 f.n. 92, 115
f.n. 1, 149, 266.
Āmalakapānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 301.
Āmantrāṇa, 101.
Āmatra, 32.
Āmba, 11 f.n. 5.
Āmbīḍagapāṇaga, 77 f.n. 3.
Āmbapāṇa, 76 f.n. 7.
Āmbatthika, 284.
Ambila, 70 f.n. 4, 284.
Āmikṣā, 14, 174 f.n. 6, 284.
Amlavetasa, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Amlayavāgū, 177 f.n. 4.
Āmlikā, 149 f.n. 1, 266.
Āmlikākanda, 150 f.n. 1, 272.
Āmlikāpānaka, 301.
Āmra, 92 f.n. 9, 149 f.n. 1, 266, also
see Mango.
Āmrāpānaka, 301.
Āmrātaka, 73 f.n., 115 f.n. 1, 149
f.n. 1, 184, 267, also see Hogplum.
Āmrātakapānaka, 301.
Āndalambitya, 170 f.n. 4.
Āndikā, 22 f.n. 5, 273.
Āṅgārapakvam māṇisam, 295.
Āṅgāravakṣayata, 33.
Anbilvārā, food of, 216.
Animal fats, 71, 182.
Aniravasita śūdra, 99 f.n. 3.
Ākkalodja, 150 f.n. 1.
Ākkopā, 149 f.n. 1, 267.
Ānna, 136 f.n. 1.
Ānnarasa, 301.
Antrāṇghaka, 295.
Āpī, 11 f.n. 5, 171 f.n. 1, 203 f.n. 1,
260.
Āpūyava, 170 f.n. 6.
Āpātva, 189 f.n. 5.
Āpākvaraṇa, 185.
Āpidbhāna, 32.
Apricots, 182.
Āpūpa, 8, 15, 19, 35, 36 f.n. 1, 59,
88 f.n. 1, 92, 103, 112, 136, 137
f.n., 171 f.n. 3, 284.
Ārālika, 120 f.n. 5.
Ārdraaka, 279.
Ārbar, 11, also see *Ādākṣi*.
Ārjaka, 279.
Āratigara, 18.
Ārista, 96, 152 f.n. 7, 185, 298.
Ārjuna, 24 f.n. 4.
Āruka, 149, f.n. 1, 267.
Āruṣkara, 267.
Āsafoetida, 41, 69, 113, 146, 180,
181, also see *Hinga*.
Āsana, 58 f.n. 1.
Āśava, 95, 152, f.n. 7, 185, 298.

Āśavāśava, 185.
 gṛdāśava, 152 f.n. 1.
 śrīśava, 152 f.n. 3.
Āśaya, 43.
 Ascetics, food of, 114, 126, 161, 197.
Āścana, 33.
 Āśwaka, food of the people of; 200.
Ālmantaka, 267.
Āśubhāya, 10 f.n. 2, 261.
Āśri, 150 f.n. 1.
Āśuta, 147 f.n. 2, 284.
Āśuti, 43 f.n. 4.
Ātyabala, 22 f.n. 5.
Ātyakarṇa, 267.
Āyattha, 32, 114, 149 f.n. 1, 150
f.n. 2, 220, 267, 273.
Ātāśeana, 14.
Ātasi, 61 f.n. 3, 71, f.n. 4, 263 also
see linseed.
Ātithigra, 16.
Ātmaguptā, 135 f.n. 3.
Ātphakālikā, 153.
Āudbhīd, 279.
Ankuṣa, 284.
Anadāmīśa, 218.
Anadātikā, 44, 298.
Anakā, 22 f.n. 3, 273.
Analgyā, 135 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1, 273.
 Avanti, food and drinks of the people
of, 181, 200.
Avaraṇna, 284 also see *Aparappa*,
62 f.n. 1.
Ayāma, 60 f.n. 1, 77 f.n. 4.
Ayasa, 185.
Ayuta, 15 f.n. 5.

B

Badarā, 21 f.n. 3, 149 f.n. 1, 267.
Bāhlika, 181, 200.
Baindra, 16 f.n. 8.
Baja, 20.
Bakkara, 152 f.n., 298.
Bakula, 267.
Bald, 150 f.n. 1.
Ballūra, 177 f.n. 1.
 Bamboo seeds, 135 f.n. 1, 262 also see
Vēṇayava.
 Banana, 2, 5, 93, 220.
 Banaras, food of the people of, 235.
 Barley, 2, 4, 7, 34, 87, 103, 135, 166,
170, 171 f.n. 1.
varieties 88, 170.
 Barren cows, 15, 16.
Barnkūśaraka, 170 f.n. 4.

Basin, 6.
 Basket, 98.
Bassialatifolia, 152, also see *Madbhāka*.
 Beakers, 6.
 Beans, 22.
 Beastings, 13, 38, 139, 140, 174.
 Beef, 5, 18, 64, 130, 179.
 Beer, 95.
 Betel-chewing, 129, 162, 196, 232, 25-
354.
 Betel leaves, 2.
 Betel nut, 2, also see *Kramuka*, p. 96
f.n. 1.
 Beverages, 22, 45, 76, 97, 119, 154,
188, 225, taken after meals, 163, 196.
Bhadritraka, 212, 295.
Bhadraka, 104.
Bhājī, 43 f.n. 1.
Bhakkha, 77 f.n. 11.
Bhakṣya, 45, 285.
Bhakta, 35 f.n. 8, 285.
Bballātaka, 114, 149, f.n. 1, 267,
also see *Āruṣkara*.
Bhaṇḍī, 150 f.n. 1, 273.
Bhāumapataḍgraba, 190 f.n. 6.
Bharjitatāmāsam, 295.
Bhavya, 115 f.n. 1, 149, 267, also see
Kāmaranga.
Bhojanīya, 58.
Bhr̥ngāra, 78 f.n. 7, 121.
Bhr̥ṣṭadbhāya, 285.
Bhr̥ṣṭamāsam, 295.
Bhūṣikā, 213, 295.
Bhūṣīrya, 128, 164, 165, 279.
Bhūṣikāraka, 285.
Bida, 92, 146, 279.
Bidālī, 73 f.n. 3.
Bidarkanda, 73 f.n. 3.
Bijapūraka, 115 f.n. 1.
Bijottarā, 96, 298.
Bilva, 21, 71, 72 f.n. 114, 129, 149
f.n. 1, 183, 267.
Bilvaparṇī, 150 f.n. 1.
Bilvapatra, 150 f.n. 1, 273.
Bimba, 93.
Bimbī, 149 f.n. 1, 267.
Bimbīpatra, 273.
Bimbītikā, 273.
 Birds, 5, 16, 106.
Bīsa, 22, 73 f.n. 3, 130 f.n. 7, 273,
also see Lotus stalks.
 Black pepper 41, 180, also see Pepper.
 Black salt, 113.
 Blower, 32.
 Boiled rice, 2, 103.

Boilers, 121.
 Bottlegourd, 22, 73, 164, 184, 220.
 Bowls, 6, 98.
Brāhmaṇas, food of, 51, 57, 85, 99, 101, 235.
 Brassica, 4, 20.
 Bread fruit 71, 114, 183, 220, also see *Panasa*.
Bṛhasti, 273.
 Brinjal, 2, 73, 183, 184, 220.
 Broom, 98.
 Buddhists, and meat diet, 66, 177.
 Buddhists, rules of diet of the, 79, 197.
 Buffaloes, 16.
 Buffaloes, milk of, 73.
 Butter, 2, 15, 89, 139, 140, 174.
 Butter milk, 63, 89, 97, 105, 139, 165, 174 f.n. 6.

C

Cakes, 2, 8, 15, 36, 59, 137, 168, 170, 189, 204, 249, 284.
Cakhalikā, 211, 295.
Cakramarda, 273.
Camasa, 33, 46 f.n. 3.
Camcams, 218.
 Camphor, 164, also see *Karpūra*.
Camū, 33.
Canaka, 33 f.n. 2, 61 f.n. 3, 104, 135 f.n. 3, parched, 137 f.n. 5, 203 f.n. 1, 263.
Capnakandana, 285.
Carēn, 150 f.n. 4, 273.
Cāngeri, 150 f.n. 1, 220 f.n. 5, 273.
 Cardamom, 92, 146, 180.
Carū, 32, 98 f.n. 5, 170 f.n. 1, 283.
Cāruka, 134 f.n. 6.
 Castor seed, 71.
 Categories of food, 58, 78, 102, 133, 168.
 Catmint, 73.
Cavya, 279.
 Cereals, 7, 34, 58, 87, 102, 133, 168, 203.
 inferior, 134 f.n. 6, 135 f.n. 1.
Chatrāka, 150 f.n. 1.
Chīwal, 1.
 Cheese, 14.
 Children, food of, 52, 81, 197.
Chināmī, 183, 267, also see peaches.
China-rājputra, 183.
 Chop sticks, 190.
 Churning, 14.

Ciscinda, 273.
Cidbhita, 92 f.n. 9, 93 f.n. 8, also see *Cirbhita*.
Cilli, 150, 220 f.n. 5, 221 f.n. 1, 273.
Cinaka, 60, 134, f.n. 5, 168 f.n. 3, 171 f.n. 1, 260.
Cilād, 267, also see *Amlikā*.
Cīcā pānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 301.
 Cinnamon, 92.
Cirbhita, 150 f.n. 1, 221, 273, also see *Cidbhita*.
Citraka, 150 f.n. 1, 273, 279.
Citrāna, 285.
 Citrus aurantium, 20, 71.
 Citrus medica 93, 114, 149, 165, 183.
Civā, 10, also see *Pṛthuka*.
 Clarified butter, 15, 63, 89, 105, 139, 140, 148, 165, 175.
 Cloves, 70, 93, 164, 180.
Coca, 279.
Cocapāna, 76, f.n. 7, 301.
 Cocoanut, 2, 5, 71, 152, 183, 220.
Coraka, 92 f.n. 5, 279.
 Cooking, 27, 45, 77, 97, 120, 155, 187, 225, cooking on a slow fire, 155, 226.
 Cooking pots, 98, 121.
 Cooks, 27, 97, 189.
 Coriander, 92, 113, 146, 180.
 Couldron, 32.
 Cow, 16, 28.
 Cow's milk, 37.
 Cream of curds, 139, 174 f.n. 6, also see *Sara* of milk, 139 also see *Santānikā*.
 Cucumber, 3, 22, 73, 92, 93, 184, 220.
 Cumin, 69, 92, 113, 146, 180.
Cūñch, 150.
 Cups, 5, 6, 33, 98, 121, 190.
 Curds, 10, 97, 105, 139, 140, 165, 174, 208.
 Churned, 130.
Cūrṇādbīḍīśī, 301.
Cūrṇapādikā, 170 f.n. 4.
 Curries, 5.
 Custard apple, 183, also see *Śitaphala*.
Cūta, 93 f.n. 8, 115 f.n. 1.

D

Dadhabāṣat, 14, 285, also see cheese.
Dadbi, 37, 97 f.n. 1, 174 f.n. 3.
 dadbiśaktu, 174 f.n. 3.
 dadbyodana, 174 f.n. 3.
 gyādādābī, 174 f.n. 3.

Dadhikūrcikā, 175.
Dadhisara, 174 f.n. 6, 285, also see *Sara*.
Dadhyāstra, 23 f.n. 9.
Dadhyodana, 10 f.n. 6, 285.
Dāgima, 2, 72 f.n., 73 f.n. 94 f.n. 1,
 115 f.n. 1, 194 f.n. 1, 267, also see
 pomegranate.
Dādīmapānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 301.
 Dairy products, 12, 37, 62, 88, 89,
 104, 108, 173, 208.
Dakalāvayika, 177, 295.
Damanaka, 92 f.n. 5, 279.
Dauḍabata, 174 f.n. 6.
Dantafalba, 194 f.n. 1, 268, also see
Jambūra.
Dāraka, 87, also see *Uddalaka*.
Dardura, 134 f.n. 5, 168.
Dārṇbaridri, 279.
Dārmīśvara, 170.
Darvī, 32, 46.
 Dates, 5, 71, 149, 152, 220, also see
Kharjīra.
 Deer, 90, 106.
 Delichos, 2, also see *Kulmāṣa*.
Divalikā, 285.
Devikā, 35.
Dhānābī, 8 f.n. 3, 34 f.n. 2, 103, 104,
 136 f.n. 3, 171 f.n. 3, 285, also see
 parched barley.
Dhanvana, 268.
Dhānyabija, 9 f.n. 7.
Dhānyaka, 279.
Dhānyāmla, 97 f.n. 1, 301.
Dharmapattana, 181, also see *Marica*
 and pepper.
Dhārakyaabbīṣita, 298.
Dhāmītr, 32.
Dhosaka, 207, 285.
Dhūpita, 77 f.n. 10.
Dillenia Indica, 2, also see *Bhavya*
 and *Kāmaranga*.
Dīrgasūkha, 134 f.n. 3, 168.
 Dish, 5, 6, 98, 121.
 Dishes, order of serving, 160, 196,
 230.
 Distillation, 25.
Dīṣyā, 119, 298.
Dobaka, 88.
Dose, 208 f.n. 1, also see *Dbosaka*.
Drakīṣā, 72 f.n., 268, also see *Mṛdvikā*
 and Grapes.
Drakīṣāpānaka, 301.
 Dravidians, food of, 2, 240.
 Drinks of different castes, 30.

Drinking, 192, also see Intoxicating
 drinks, effect of, 96.
 Drinking condemned, 117.
 Drinking prohibited, 44.
Drona, 23, 33.
Dru, 33.
Dṛśad, 32.
Dṛti, 33.
Dugdāsandana, 285.
Dūṣaka, 168 f.n. 3.

E

East India, food of the people of, 166.
Edgoja, 135 f.n. 3.
 Eggplant, 164.
 Eggs, 64.
Ela, 279.
Elāluka, 73 f.n. 3.
 Emblic myrobalan, 71, 93, 114, 149,
 also see *Āmalaka*.
 Ephedra, 22 f.n. 7, also see *Soma*.
Eranda, 71, f.n. 4, 265.
Ervāraka, 150 f.n. 1, 184, 273.
 Etiquette, 30, 94, 154, 126, 162, 194,
 231, also see Table manners.
 Exudation, 30, 55, 164, also see
Niryāsa.

F

Fastday food, 53, 198, 235.
 Fasting, 30.
 Feasts, 101, 128, 164, 198, 236, 237.
 Fig, 93, 268.
 Filter, 26, also see Strainer.
 Fish, 2, 5, 15, 16, 31, 66, 90, 106,
 126, 166, 210.
 Flavours, 133.
 Flesh,
 roasted on spits, 17.
 boiled, 17.
 cooked with rice 17, also see
 Māṁsandana.
 Food, defiled by contact, 29, 50 f.n.,
 difficult to digest, 155, 159, 194.
 easily digestible, 155, 159, 194.
 Food and various castes, 49.
 Food of people living in different
 regions, 165, 200.
 of Jains, 166.
 of the middle class, 129.
 of the miserly people, 236.
 of the poor people, 129, 236.
 of the rich people, 129, 167, 235.

according to seasons, 158, 193.
stale food, 164.

Fruits, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 21, 42, 71, 93,
114, 148, 182, 220.
varieties, 149 f.n. 1.
methods of ripening, 71.

Fruit, juices, 97.

Frying, 249-250.

G

Gāngeruka, 149 f.n. 1, 268, 273.
Ganabhojana, 82.
Gāndakushīla, 190 f.n. 2.
Gandhala, 134 f.n. 5.
Gandhana, 168 f.n. 3.
Gandbara, food of the people of, 200.
Gandira, 150 f.n. 1, 273, 280.
Gazlic, 43, 55, 73, 115, 128, 130, 146,
164, 184, 221, soup of, 184, also
see *Lasjma*.
Garmūti, 134 f.n. 6, 170 f.n. 4, 263,
see *Kulattha*.
Gandika, 145, f.n. 283.
Gandī, 298.
Gaudyāsava, 119 f.n. 4, 298.
Gaura, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Gaurasarṣapa, 280.
Gavāśīra, 13 f.n. 3.
Gavādbukā, 135 f.n. 1, 170 f.n. 4, 171
f.n. 1, 184 f.n. 22.
Gavādbukā, 71 f.n. 5, 88, 260.
Gavya, 37 f.n. 5.
Gentleman, food of, 100.
Ghāṇas, 79 f.n. 2.
Ghārikā, 206, 285.
Gharma, 32.
Ghāṭa, 121 f.n. 6.
Ghatikā, 98, f.n. 5.
Ghatishubhamta, 95 f.n. 4.
Ghayapuṇḍra, 69, 268.
Ghee, 10, also see *Ghyta*.
Ghee, cow's, 63.
Ghevata, 69.
Ghola, 141 f.n. 2, 268.
Ghyta, 15 f.n. 5, 139, f.n. 7, 140 f.n.
4, 174 f.n. 7.
Gṛtamāṇḍam, 140 f.n. 4.
Gṛtaphūra, 145, 179 f.n. 5, 218, 286.
Gṛtandana, 10 f.n. 8, 286.
Ginger, 2, 43, 69, 92, 113, 165, 180,
221.
Gleanings, 99, 126.
Go (milk), 12 f.n. 6.
Goat, 1, 5, 16, 28.

Goblets, 6.
Godbarālikā, 185.
Godbhūma, 104, 203 f.n. 1, 260, also
see Wheat.
Go'dbyakṣa, 88.
Goghma, 38 f.n. 5.
Gojibha, 150 f.n. 1, 273.
Gopitaka, 79.
Gourd, 3, also see *Kūpmāṇḍa*.
Graha, 33.
Gram, 11, 104, 166; 171, f.n. 1, 172
f.n. 8, 205.
Grantiparṇa, 184.
Grapes, 71, 93, 94, 149, 152, 165,
182, 183, 220, also see *Drākṣa* and
Mrdvīkā.
Grīvam, 32.
Greeks, food of, 200.
Grinding, 27 f.n. 2.
Grindstone, 46, 97.
Grījanā, 115 f.n. 5, 273, 280.
Groats, 9, 88, 103, 126, 130, 136,
165, 168, 171, 172.
Gruel, 9, 35, 59, 88, 126, 135.
Gudā, 2, 3, 41, 68, 91, 112, 144, 152,
179 f.n. 216.
Gudafarkarā, 144 f.n. 3.
Gudasudama, 179, 286.
Gudavikāra, 179 f.n. 4.
Gudadaka, 77 f.n. 1, 97 f.n. 1, 301.
Gulalāśantiya, 69, 77 f.n. 11, 286.
Guvāka, 2.

H

Haiyamgarīna, 37 f.n. 5, 174 f.n. 7,
286.
Haiśodaka, 224, 225 f.n., 301.
Hārabhraka, 96, 298.
Harenu, 61 f.n. 3, 135 f.n. 3, also see
Kaldya.
Haridrā, 2, 20 f.n. 4, 70 f.n., 280.
Haridrodama, 286.
Harimantaka, 172 f.n. 8.
Haritaka, 94.
Haritaki, 149, 280.
Hariyāga, 77 f.n. 11.
Harsa and meat diet, 177.
Hastaka, 190 f.n. 2.
Hastinapur, 39 f.n. 4.
Hāyana, 10 f.n. 2, 35 f.n. 6, 87, 134
f.n. 3, 260.
Hemp, 128.
Hermits, food of, 54, 99, 231.
Hilamoca, 220.

Hills, food of the people living in the, 90.
Himapānaka, 301.
Hingu, 41 f.n. 8, 70 f.n., 113 f.n. 4, 280, also see *asafoetida*.
Hogplum, 184.
Holaka, 286.
Honey, 18, 40, 67, 91, 104, 112, 143, 152, 178, 216.
 varieties, 143 f.n. 5, 178 f.n. 7.
Honey, forbidden, 19, 41.
Horsegram, 61.
Horses, 16, 18.
Hospitality, 27, 28, 46, 79, 98, 122, 156, 190, 226.
Householder, food of the, 53, 99, 161, 197, 231.
Hṛdayasāla, 46.
Humours, 132-33.

I

Idarikā, 206, 286.
Ikṣu, 19, 22 f.n. 9.
Ikṣurasa, 301.
Implements, 98.
Impure food, 28, 29, 48, also see *Purity of food*.
Impure meat, 29.
Impure milk, 29.
Indus Valley, food of the people of the, 4, 240.
Induguda, 114, 129, 265.
Intoxicating drinks, 2, 24, 43, 74, 94, 116, 131, 185, 221.
 varieties, 222.
Irā, 3.
Ittaka, 171, 179, 286.

J

Jackfruit, 3, 92, 152.
Jagala, 152 f.n. 1, 185, 298.
Jaggery, 2.
Jains, rules of diet, 79, 234.
Jalapippali, 280.
Jam, 181.
Jāmapāla, 172 f.n. 31.
Jambūra, 183, 268, 280, also see *Dantasarpa*.
Jambū, 2, 42, 72 f.n., 92 f.n. 9, 115 f.n. 1, 149 f.n. 1; 183, 268, also see *roseapple*.
Jambue, 79 f.n. 2.
Jambūpāna, 76 f.n. 7, 302.

Jars, 6, 23.
Jartila, 20, 171 f.n. 1.
Jāti, 113 f.n. 4, 298.
Jātiphala, 164, 280.
Jatumukha, 134 f.n. 4, 168 f.n. 3.
Jayakālikā, 185.
Jhvinti, 134 f.n. 6.
Jiraka, 70 f.n. 280, also see *Cumin*.
Jivaka, 274.
Jivanti, 150, 184, 221, f.n. 1, 274.
Jondhala, 172 f.n. 3.
Journey, food for, 85.
Jubu, 32.
Juices, 183.
Jujube, 21, 42, 71, 93, 114, 129, 149, 152.
Jūrṇabva, 172.
Jūsa, 77 f.n. 11.

K

Kacca, 286.
Kadali, 2, 72 f.n., 93 f.n. 8, 113 f.n. 1, 268, 274, also see *Moca*.
Kadamba, 73, 150 f.n. 1.
Kādambārī, 75 f.n. 7, 152 f.n. 1, 187, 298.
Kādapiya, 78 f.n. 7.
Kaiwarta, 16 f.n. 16.
Kajali, 68.
Kākamācī, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Kākāndola, 135 f.n. 3, 274.
Kakkola, 164.
Kalamasāla, 58, 134, 168.
Kalambā, 150 f.n. 1.
Kalambi, 220 f.n. 5, 274.
Kalasa, 23, 33, 190 f.n. 2.
Kalasāka, 116, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Kalāya, 61, 88 f.n. 5, 94 f.n. 6, 150 f.n. 1, 203 f.n. 1, parched, 137 f.n. 5, 264, 274.
Kali, 2.
Kālikā, 44, 298.
Kalinda, 268.
Kalīṅga, 2, 274.
Kāmarāṅga, 2, 268, also see *Bhavya*.
Kāmbalika, 147, 181, 286.
Kamboja, food of the people of, 85, 166.
Kānikola, 280.
Kāmisa, 33.
Kānapūra, 60.
Kāñcana, 168 f.n. 3.
Kāneś, food of the people of, 181.
Kandupācītamāśa, 295.

Kaṇgu, 166, 170, 261, also see *Priyangu*.
Kāñjika, 70 f.n. 4, 286, 302.
Kantakārikā, 274.
Kāpiśāyanī, 44, 96, 298.
Kapittba, 22 f.n., 71, 73 f.n., 95, 114,
118, 149 f.n. 1, 152, 220, 268.
Kapitthapāṇaka, 77 f.n. 3, 302.
Kappabbūmi, 77 f.n. 7.
Karae, 79 f.n. 2.
Karakā, 121 f.n. 6, 190 f.n. 2.
Karamarda, 71, 72 f.n., 93, 149 f.n.
1, 220, 268.
Karambba, 8 f.n. 7, 14 f.n. 3, 103
f.n. 2, 171 f.n. 3, 268.
Karambbī, 121 f.n. 6.
Karaṇja, 149, f.n. 1, 268.
Kāravella, 73 f.n. 3, 221 f.n. 1, 274.
Kāravṛṣta, 165.
Karbudāra, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Karcūra, 149 f.n. 1, 268.
Kardama, 168.
Karīra, 116, 269.
Karīrapāṇaka, 77 f.n. 302.
Karkandbu, 21 f.n. 3, 149 f.n. 1, 269,
also see Jujube.
Karkandbhūpāṇaka, 302.
Karkari, 190 f.n. 2.
Karkāruka, 274.
Karkaṭa, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Karkaṭī, 274.
Karkoṭaka, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Kārotara, 32, also see strainers.
Karpūra, 280, also see Camphor.
Kāsamarda, 280.
Kāsāra, 204, 217, 286.
Kasāya, 44, 299.
Kasīraka, 150 f.n. 1, 269, 274.
Kāśmarya, 73 f.n., 114, 149 f.n. 1,
269.
Kāśmṛyapāṇaka, 155, 302.
Kastūrikā, 280.
Kaṭya, 186.
Kaṭha, 121 f.n. 6, 190 f.n. 2.
Kaṭhakarṇa, 207, 287.
Kaṭhīllaka, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Kaṭhiñjala, 150 f.n. 1.
Kaṭhabijjā, 287.
Keliṭa, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Kembuka, 150 f.n. 1.
Kesara, 280.
Khaḍa, 147, 151, 181, 287.
Kavasandī, 212, 295.
Kaykkari, 221.
Khādaniya, 58.
Khadira, 280.

Khādyatapākika, 189 f.n. 4.
Khālīma, 58 f.n. 7.
Khajaka, 287.
Khajabhbājaka, 77 f.n. 7.
Khajaka, 60, 218.
Khalaga, 79 f.n. 2.
Khalva, 263 see *Cāṇaka*.
Khanda, 91 f.n. 7, 144 f.n. 3, 179 f.n.
Khandakāshyaka, 179 f.n. 4.
Khandapāka, 287.
Khandapāṇaka, 302.
Khāṇḍava, 112, 181 f.n. 6.
Khasyikā, 135 f.n. 3.
Khanīka, 295.
Khṛagalana, 79 f.n. 2.
Kharāṭīva, 280.
Kharījāra, 21, 72, f.n. 149 f.n. 1, 150
f.n. 1, 269, also see Dates.
Kharījāra, 299.
Kharījrapāṇaka, 77 f.n. 3, 302.
Kholas, 63 f.n. 2.
Kilāla, 26, 44, 89, 118, 299.
Kilāṭa, 287.
Kirātātikta, 92 f.n. 5, 280.
Kitchen, 156, 189.
Kodrava, 60, 87, 104, 170, 203 f.n. 1,
261.
Kohala, 152 f.n. 221 f.n. 1, 299.
Kola or *Kwala*, 21 f.n. 3, 269, also see
Jujube.
Kolapāṇaka, 302.
Komkapa, 85, 200.
Koradīṣjaka, 134, 135 f.n. 1, 171 f.n. 1.
Koṭa, 33.
Koṭall, 213, 295.
Koṭātakī, 274.
Koṭidāra, 94, 115, 150 f.n. 1, 274.
Krañcīḍāna, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kysara, 11, 36, f.n. 1, 88 f.n. 1, 103,
112, 136, 137 f.n., 170 f.n. 1, 179,
287.
Kṛṣṇapāka, 213, 295.
Kṛṣṇavībi, 10 f.n. 2, 35 f.n. 6, 134,
168 f.n. 3.
Kṛṣṇawīḍa, 118 f.n. 1, 299.
Kṛṣṇalavāga, 287.
Kṛṣṇaka, 281.
Kṛṣṇa, 12 f.n. 6, also see milk.
Kṛṣṇaudana, 10 f.n. 5, 36, 287.
Kṛṣṇapākamodanam, 9 f.n. 7.
Kṛṣṇaprakāra, 208, 218, 287.
Kṛṣṇalāka, 173.
Kṛṣṇaṣṭhika, 287.
Kṛṣṇavata, 206, 208, 287.
Kukkuṭapāka, 134 f.n. 4, 168 f.n. 3.

Kulaka, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kulattha, 11, 37, 61, 88 f.n. 5, 104,
 135, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 203 f.n. 1, 264.
Kulattakūra, 287.
Kulmāṣa, 2, 12, 37, 85, 88, 104, 136,
 168, 287.
Kumārajīva, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kumbha, 33, 98 f.n. 5, 121 f.n. 6, 190
 f.n. 2.
Kumbī, 78 f.n. 7, 98 f.n. 5.
Kummāsa, 61 f.n. 1.
Kumuda, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kuṇḍa, 98 f.n. 5.
Kuṇḍikā, 98 f.n. 5.
Kuntalikd, 275.
Kūra, 2, 288, also see boiled rice.
Kāreikā, 89, 140 f.n. 6, 287.
Kāreikāviktāb, 144 f.n. 7, 287.
Kuruvynda, 134 f.n. 5, 133 f.n. 1, 168
 f.n. 3, 171 f.n. 1.
Kusara, 19 f.n. 4.
Kāṣṭamūḍa, 116 f.n. 2, 150 f.n. 1, 164,
 183, 184, 275, also see Pumpkin-
 gourd.
Kuśitumbhī, 92 f.n. 5, 280.
Kuśimāṇḍaka, 168 f.n. 3.
Kuśimbha, 61 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1, 263,
 275, also see Safflower.
Kuśheraka, 150 f.n. 1, 163, 275.
Kuśijāra, 275.
Kuśijīja, 68.
Kuśu, 190 f.n. 5.
Kuśupa, 190 f.n. 5.
Kuśubhūka, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Kuvala, 13, 14, 21, 94 f.n. 1, also see
Kola.

L

Ladduka, 218, 288.
Ladles, 6, 32.
Lajjāb, 10 f.n. 11, 36 f.n. 1, 103 f.n.
 1, 288, also see parched rice.
Lajjāmāṇḍa, 10 f.n. 12, 288.
Lakṣmaya, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Lakṣmī, 73 f.n., 149, f.n. 1, 183, 220,
 269.
Lakṣmīpānaka, 302.
Lāṅgala, 168.
Lāṅgalakī, 150 f.n. 1.
Lāṅgūlī, 134 f.n. 3, 275.
Laluna, 73 f.n. 4, 115 f.n. 3, 275,
 280, also see garlic.
Lauñī, 121 f.n. 6.
Lāvaka, 168 f.n. 3.

Lāvāksaka, 134 f.n. 4.
Lavālī, 269.
Lavāna, 280.
Lavāṇḍhyakṣa, 92 f.n. 2.
Lavāṅga, 70 f.n. 1, 280, also see
 Cloves.
 Leather vessels, 27, 190.
 Leavings of food, 28, 49, 56, 80, 124,
 192.
 Leeks, 43, 73.
 Lemon fruit, 2, 5, 183.
 Lentils, 12, 61, 170 also see *Masūra*.
 Linseed, 71, 93, also see *Atast*.
 Liquor, 74, 166, also see Intoxicating
 drinks, distilled, 152.
 Liquors, forbidden, 43, 74.
 Liquor from *kadamba* fruit, 75.
 Liquor from *jālli* flowers, 75.
 Liquor from palm fruit, 75.
 Liquor from treacle, 130.
Lacikā, 171, 179, 288.
Lohavāla, 134 f.n. 3, 168.
Lobitānu, 134 f.n. 6.
Lobitasāli, 134 f.n. 3.
Lopakāra, 69.
 Long bottle gourd, 115, 116, also see
Alabīl.
 Long pepper, 20, 41, 69, 92, 146,
 180, also see *Pippali*.
Lopikā, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Loffaka, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
 Lotus stalks, 22, 73, 115, 150 f.n. 1,
 184, also see *Bisa* roots, 73, 115.

M

Māddhavī, 75 f.n. 6, 152 f.n. 4, 186, 299.
Madvī, 96 f.n. 4, 152 f.n. 4, 185.
Madbugolaka, 69, 288.
Madbhūka, 22, 73, 119, 152, 269, also
 see *Bassia Latifolia*.
Madbhukroda, 145.
Madbhūjā, 69, 112, 170 f.n. 5, 179,
 288.
Madbhūlikā, 135, 170, 171 f.n. 1.
Madbhūmīstaka, 145 f.n. 3, 288.
Madbhūpāna, 76 f.n. 7.
Madbhūpānaka, 302.
Madbhūparka, 288.
Madbhūra, 185.
Madbhūrīsaka, 69, 145.
Madbhūvāsava, 119 f.n. 299.
Māddhīt, 299.
Madhyadeśa, food of the people of,
 176, 177.

Madirā, 118 f.n. 1, 186, 299.
Madugha, 22 f.n. 4.
Madya, 43 f.n. 4, 75, 152 f.n. 7, 299.
Mahāśāli, 58, 134, 168 f.n. 3.
Mahāvīri, 10, 35 f.n. 6, 168 f.n. 3, 169.
Maheshwar Navdatoli, 21, 22.
Mabisañka, 168 f.n. 3.
Mabija, 13 f.n. 4.
Maitreya, 44, 75, 96, 116, 118, 152, 185, 186, 299.
Majjī, 147.
Majjikā, 288.
Makūlaka, 269.
Mālava, food and drinks of the people of, 181.
Malaya, food of the people of, 200.
Mānasañcaudana, 296.
Mānīsarasa, 177 f.n. 1.
Mānīsandana, 10 f.n. 10, 17 f.n. 3, 36, 177 f.n. 1, 295.
Mānīsa siddha amla javāgū, 296.
Manda, 63, 136 f.n. 1, 139 f.n. 7, 173, 288.
Mandadasbi, 140 f.n. 1.
Mandaka, 69, 204, 288.
Mandalīya, 214, 296.
Mandukaparī, 150, 220 f.n. 3, 275.
Manduki, 75.
Māngalya, 135 f.n. 3.
Mango, 21, 42, 71, 92, 83, 115, 220.
Mantī, 13 f.n. 2, 36 f.n. 1, 136 f.n. 3, 288.
Mantaka, 88.
Mārdika, 152 f.n. 5, 299.
Marica, 41 f.n. 8, 69 f.n. 6, 92 f.n. 5, 113 f.n. 4, 281, also see pepper.
Mārīga, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Markafaka, 171 f.n. 1.
Maruwaka, 92 f.n. 5, 275, 281.
Māṣa, 2, 11, 12, 30, 37, 55, 61, 87, 88, f.n. 5, 104, 135, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 203 f.n. 1, 264.
Māṣaparī, 150 f.n. 1, 275.
Māṣara, 3, 26, 44, 299.
Mastu, 14, 139 f.n. 7.
Masīra, 2, 11, 12, 61, 88 f.n. 5, 135, 164, 166, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 203 f.n. 1, 264, also see lentils.
—parched, 137 f.n. 5.
Mathita, 174, 208 f.n. 5, 289.
Mathurā, food of the people of, 201.
Matyāṇḍikā, 68, 91 f.n. 7, 144, 179 f.n.

Mātuluniga, 72 f.n., 149, 165, 181, 269, also see *Citrus medica*.
Manjavanta, 22.
Meals, 192.
Meat, 2, 5, 10, 13, 18, 38, 63, 65, 89, 98, 105, 142, 143, 175, 209.
Meat preparations, 108, 142, 166, 176.
Bhrūja, 142 f.n. 6.
Parisujka, 142 f.n. 6.
Pratapta, 142 f.n. 6.
Ullupta, 142 f.n. 6.
Meat of
 Birds, 64, 110, 210.
 Boars, 110.
 Deer, 110, 210.
 Elephants, 65.
 Five-toed animals, 176.
 Fowls, 64.
 Goats, 110, 210.
Godd, 64.
 Hare, 109.
 Dogs, 109.
 Oxen, 64.
 Peafowl, 176.
 Pigeons, 64.
 Porcupine, 109.
 Rhinoceros, 110.
 Tortoise, 109.
Meat and Buddha, 66.
Meat, clean, 108.
Meat and Mahāvīra, 67.
Meat
 Permitted, 176, 210.
 Prohibited, 176, 177, 210.
 Sanctified, 106.
 Unsanctified, 164.
Meat in a Śrāddha, 39, 176.
Medaka, 95, 299.
Melon, 5, 182.
Mēṣaṇīgī, 92, 96.
Mess, 9, 10.
Mesibikā, 275.
Milk, 4, 12, 13, 89, 104, 138, 166, 175, 208.
 fresh milk, 173.
 overboiled milk, 173.
 of buffaloes, 139, 173.
 of cows, 139, 173.
Milk forbidden, 38, 104 f.n. 8, 159.
Milk-rice, 38, 62, 103, 104, 112, 139, 169, 173.
Maca, 149 f.n. 1, 269.
Macapāna, 76 f.n. 7.
Modaka, 41, 69, 92, 112, 145 f.n., 179, 217, 289.

Moderation in food 29, 80-81, 125, 158, 193, 229.
 Monks, food of, 82-84.
Moresdaka, 69, 179, 289.
 Mortar, 32, 46, 98.
Mṛdukā, 93 f.n. 8, 94 f.n. 1, 149 f.n., 269; also see grapes and *drakṣa*.
Mṛdukāpānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 302.
Mṛṣṭanna, 289.
Mudikāpāna, 76 f.n. 7.
Mudga, 2, 10, 12, 37, 61, 87, 88 f.n. 3, 104, 133, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 203 f.n. 1, 205, 264; parched 137 f.n. 3.
Mudgapari, 150 f.n. 1.
Mudgandana, 10 f.n. 9, 289.
Mukūlaka, 149, f.n. 1.
Mukunda, 134 f.n. 6.
Mukundaka, 135 f.n. 1, 164, 170 f.n. 4.
Milaka, 150 f.n. 4, 275, 281.
Mulālī, 22 f.n. 5.
Mulephala, 77 f.n. 11.
 Mullers, 4.
Muñjataka, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Murmura, 217, 289.
Musala, 32.
 Mushrooms, 55, 115, 128, 164.
Musta, 281.
 Mustard, 20, 70, 71, 73, 113, 164, 180, 220.
 Mustard oil, 2, 71, 93, 182 f.n. 2, 219.
 Mutton, 5.
 Myrobalan fruit, 21, 69, 180, also see *Āmalaka*.

N

Nādī, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nādiṁśaka, 150 f.n. 1.
Nādiṁdhama, 95 f.n. 4.
Nāgakesara, 281.
Nāgaranīga, 149, 270.
Nāgadhaba, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Nālikā, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nālinī, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nandīmālaka, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nandimukti, 134 f.n. 4, 135, 170, 171 f.n. 1.
Nandyavarta, 41.
Nārīkela, 2, 72 f.n., 113 f.n. 1, 149 f.n. 1, 270, also see Cocoanut.
Nārikelapānaka, 77 f.n. 3, 302.
Nārikelāsava, 187, 299.
Nārmadeya, 166.
Navanīta, 15 f.n. 5, 37 f.n. 5, 139 f.n. 7, 289.

Negroid; food of, 1, 240.
 Newly married couple, food of, 42 f.n. 1, 53.
Nicula, 149 f.n. 5, 270.
Nikocaka, 149 f.n. 5, 270.
Nimantrana, 100.
Nimba, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Nimbuka, 2, 270.
Nimbukāpānaka, 302.
Nināhya, 33.
Nipa, 270.
Nippāvā, 61 f.n. 3.
Nirghyādī, 164.
Niryāda, 30, also see exudation.
Nippāva, 150 f.n. 1, 171 f.n. 1, 172, 260, 265, 276, also see *Nippāvā*.
Nissāma, 113, 296.
Nissbita, 185.
Nivara, 11 f.n. 5, 37, 134, 170, 171 f.n. 1, 261.
 Nonvegetarians, 108, 243, also see Vegetarianism.
 North-west India, food of the people of, 165.
 Nutmeg, 113.
Nyagrodha, 73, f.n., 149 f.n. 1, 150 f.n. 1, 183, 220, 270, 276.

O

Odana, 10, 35 f.n. 8, 88 f.n. 1, 103 f.n. 1, 289.
Odanyagbara, 77 f.n. 6.
 Oils, 2, 39, 31, 42, 70, 93, 113, 148, 166, 182, 219, sale forbidden 148 f.n. 4.
 varieties, 148 f.n. 3.
 Oil of mustard, 182.
 Oil of safflower, 182.
 Oil of sesamum, 71, 148, 182.
 Oilsseeds, 2, 3, 20, 42, 70, 93, 113, 148, 166, 182.
 Oil cakes, 42, 71, 114, 126, 182.
 Omelet, 143.
 Onions, 43, 53, 73 f.n. 4, 94, 113, 128, 130, 146, 164, 184, 220, 221, also see *Palāṇḍu*.
 Oranges, 149, also see *Nāgaranīga*.
 Ox, 15, 16.

P

Pacana, 32.
Pābalikā, 204, 289.
Paijī, 299.

Pāṇḍika bbakīya, 289.
Pakti, 8 f.n. 2, 289.
Paktr, 27.
Pakvamānsika, 90 f.n. 1.
Pakvarasa, 185.
Pālaka, 73 f.n. 3. also see *Pālāñkya*.
Pālala, 41, 91, 289.
Palānudana, 137 f.n., 165 f.n. 3, 289.
Palāñdu, 94 f.n. 8, 115 f.n. 5, 276,
281, also see Onion.
Pālāñkya, 150 f.n. 2, 164, 220 f.n. 5,
276.
Pālāśa, 13.
Pālīmantaka, 61 f.n. 3.
 Palm fruit, 93, 71, 96.
Pāñju, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Pāñjukṣāra, 69.
Pan, 121.
Pāna, 85 f.n. 1.
Pānabbijana, 190 f.n. 2.
Pānaka, 154, 155.
Panata, 3, 72, f.n. 93 f.n. 8, 115 f.n.
1, 270, 276, also see bread fruit.
Pāñcadata, 24, 203.
Pāñcāñgula, 150 f.n. 1.
Pāñca-sārapānaka, 303.
Pāñcaudana, 289.
Pāñceavartī, 213, 296.
Pānta, 24 f.n. 4.
Paramānna, 289.
Pāravata, 149.
 Parched barley, 8, 104, 130, also see
Dhānāb, sprouted barley 136, f.n. 3.
 Parched rice, 10, 112, 136 f.n. 5, also
see *Lājāb*.
Parīśā, 32.
Parīsruta, 26, 44, 299.
Parītūskamāmīsa, 296.
Parivāpa, 10 f.n. 11, 290.
Pariyoga, 78 f.n. 7.
Parpata, 62, 70, 138, 173.
Parpataka, 150 f.n. 1, 276, 290.
Parpatakāñbhala, 149 f.n. 1, 270.
Parṣaka, 71, 72 f.n., 93, 149, 183,
270.
Parūṣakāpānaka, 303.
Parvapī, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Parvapīśī, 150 f.n. 1.
Pāśin, 16 f.n. 8.
Pāṭala, 134 f.n. 4 and 6.
Patati, 134 f.n. 3.
Pāṭhī, 150 f.n. 1, 220, 276.
Pāṭheyā, 85.
Pāṭola, 3, 150, 184, 276.
Pataṅga, 168.
Pātra, 33.
Pātrī, 121 f.n. 6.
Patrika, 204, 290.
Pattāra, 150 f.n. 1.
Paurogava, 189 f.n. 4.
Pavitra, 32.
Payas, 12 f.n. 2.
Pāyasa, 38 f.n. 7, 38, 103 f.n. 1, 139
f.n. 5, 290. also see milk-rice.
Payasyā, 14 f.n. 7, 38, 290.
Peyodatta, 35 f.n. 8.
Peśa, 4, 11, 61, 88, 94, 166.
 Peaches, 149, 182.
 Peacock, 90 f.n. 5.
 Pears, 149, 192.
 Pepper, 69, 92, 113, 146, 164.
 Pestle, 32, 98.
Peyā, 136 f.n. 1.
Phalāśava, 118 f.n. 7, 300.
Phalgu, 149 f.n. 1, 270.
Pheśita, 41, 68, 91 f.n. 7, 118, 144,
177.
Pheśī, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Pherusakāpānaka, 76 f.n. 7.
Phenaka, 145 f.n., 177, 290.
 Philosophers, food of, 90.
Phoenisilvestris, 21, also see dates and
Kharījūra.
Pbukhā, 4.
Pbuskundi, 185.
Picchila, 189 f.n. 5.
 Pickles, 219.
Picu, 271.
Pibagāe, 79 f.n. 2.
Pila, 114, 149 f.n. 1, 164, 276.
Piluparī, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Pindaka, 290.
Pindālu, 73 f.n. 3.
Pindāluka, 94, 150 f.n. 1, 164, 276.
Pindārāsa, 303.
Pindopadhbāma, 79.
Pinyākavikṛti, 290.
Pippala, 128.
Pippalī, 20 f.n. 5, 41 f.n. 8, 69 f.n. 6,
92 f.n. 5, 281, also see Long pepper.
Pippalīmīna, 281.
Piśila, 33.
Pititandana, 177 f.n. 1.
 Pistachio, 149.
Piṣṭa, 296.
Piṣṭakas, 36, 290.
Piṣṭapinda, 88 f.n. 1.
Piṣṭaka, 78 f.n. 7.

Pitchers, 121.
Pipbara, 98 f.n. 5, 121 f.n. 6.
Pitu, 7, 17.
Plakṣa, 114, 149 f.n. 1, 150 f.n. 1, 220, 271, 276.
 Plantain, 71, 115, also see *Kadali* and banana.
 Plates, 98.
 Plums, 182, also see Jujube.
Polička, 171, 179, 204, 290.
 Pomegranates, 2, 5, 93, 115, 149, 165, 182, 220.
 Poor people, food of, 85, also see under Food.
Potk, 5, 64, 210.
 Pot-harbs, 94.
 Poultry, 5.
Povitkari, 221.
Pradīgḍha māṁsa, 296.
Pradebhaka, 219.
Pranodaka, 134 f.n. 3, 168.
Pranīta, 81.
Prapafba, 22 f.n. 5.
Prapannāḍa, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Prasāmā, 75, 93, 119, 131 f.n. 7, 185, 187, 300.
Prastāntikā, 170 f.n. 4.
Pratidbhuk, 13 f.n. 6, also see fresh milk.
Pratipana, 120 f.n. 2, 303.
Priyāla, 71, 72 f.n. 115 f.n. 1, 271.
Priyanīgh, 11 f.n. 5, 134, 135 f.n. 1, 171 f.n. 1, 203 f.n. 1.
 Proto-Australoids, food of, 1, 140.
Prasadajya, 14, 38 f.n. 3, 175 f.n. 2, 290.
Prabhuka, 10, 36 f.n. 1, 59, 136, 137, f.n., 170 f.n. 1, 290, also see *Civā*.
Prāṇopbhala, 281, also see Betelnut.
Pulka, 2, 85.
Pulinggari, 221.
Pulses, 2, 7, 11, 37, 61, 88, 104, 135, 137, 171, 205, parched, 137.
Pulkeṇukkari, 221.
Pūṇāḍga, 113 f.n. 4.
 Pumpkin gourd, 2, 116 f.n. 2, 183, also see *Kāṣmāḍga*.
Punarnavā, 276.
Pundarička, 168 f.n. 3.
Pundra, 68, 166, 168 f.n. 3.
Puṇjīḍha, 17 f.n.
Pūpa, 88 f.n. 1, 145 f.n., 179 f.n. 5, 290.
Pūpalikā, 145, 290.
Pūrapa, 1, 72, 290.

Pūrabbatāḍka, 296.
Pūrikā, 165 f.n. 3, 171 f.n. 4, 207, 290.
 Purity of food, 28, 47, 79, 124, 156, 191, 227.
Pūroḍāśa, 8 f.n. 2, 15 f.n. 4, 36 f.n. 1, 45, 290.
Pūrjalā, 212, 290.
Pūshkarabija, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Pūshkarāvarti, 271.
Pūṣpāśava, 118 f.n. 7, 300.
Pūṣpavāda, 303.
Pūtikā, 13, 24, f.n. 4.

Q

Querns, 4.

R

Radish, 43, 73, 183, 220.
Rāga, 120, 147, 165, 181 f.n. 6, 291.
Rāgañāḍava, 147, 291.
Rāl, 4.
Rājādana, 93, 149, 271.
Rājājavaka, 150 f.n. 1, 276.
Rājamāṭja, 88, 135 f.n. 3, 164, 172, 265, 276.
Rājikā, 265, 282, also see Brassica.
Rājikārāḍdbha, 291.
Raktaśāli, 58, 134, 168 f.n. 3.
Rākṣasas, drinks of, 116, 130.
Rākṣasas, food of, 111, 130.
Rālaga, or *Rālaka*, 61 f.n. 3, 261.
 Rams, 16.
Rasa, 296.
Rāsāḍa, 105, 140, 209, 291, also see *Sikbariṇī*.
Rasgullās, 218.
Rasottarā, 96, 300.
 Rice, 1, 2, 4 f.n. 4, 9, 10, 11, 31, 34, 38, 102, 133, 169, 203 also see *Vṛihi*, *Śāli* and *Saffika*.
 varieties, 134 f.n. 4, 10, 35.
 rice with clarified butter, 169.
 rice with curds, 10, 35, 169.
 rice with honey, 35.
 rice with *kulattha*, 169.
 rice with *māṭja*, 169.
 rice with meat, 10, 35.
 rice with milk, 10, 35.
 rice with molasses, 169.
 rice with *madga*, 169.
 rice with pulses, 35.
 rice with sesamum, 10, 39.
 Rocksalt, 146, 165.

Rolling pins, 4.
Romaka, 282.
Roseapple, 2, 42, 71, 92, 93, 115,
 also see *Jambū*.
 Rules of diet, 27, 46, 79, 98, 122, 165,
 190, 226.

S

Sādava, 70, 120, 147, 165, 291.
Safflower, 71, 93, 164.
Sāga, 63.
Sabakārasarā, 96, 300.
Sāima, 58 f.n. 1.
Saindbava, 20 f.n. 1, 282.
Sāka, 43 f.n. 1, 94.
Sākabhojī, 94.
Sakkharapānaka, 77 f.n. 1.
Saktu, 8 f.n. 7, 35, 103 f.n. 2, 136 f.n.
 3, 171 f.n. 3, 290, also see groats.
Sakulādamī, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sakunālbyta, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Sālakalyāñī, 150 f.n. 1.
Sālāmukha, 134 f.n. 4.
Sāleyamṛgāka, 282.
Sālī, 35, 88, 87, 133, 166, 168, 203 f.n.
 1, 261.
 varieties, 134 f.n. 3, 262.
Saline preparations, forbidden, 42,
 180 f.n. 3.
Sālmalī puṣpa, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Salt, 19, 41, 69, 92, 113, 146, 180.
 varieties, 146 f.n. 1, and 2, 180 f.n.
 2, factitious, 164.
Sāluka, 22, 73 f.n. 3, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sālukapāna, 76 f.n. 7, 303.
Sālva, 35 f.n. 1.
Sālva country, food of the people of,
 101.
Samājas, 85, 90, 129.
Sāmbārīkī, 96, 300.
Sāmīdbānya, 133 f.n. 4.
Sāmīphala, 149 f.n. 1, 271.
Sāmītāb, 137 f.n. 4, 144 f.n. 7, 291.
Sāmudra, 92 f.n. 31, 282.
Sānyāda, 41, 112, 145, 171 f.n. 3, 291.
Sāra, 61 f.n. 3, 128 f.n. 2, 150 f.n. 1,
 171 f.n. 1, 277, also see Hemp.
Sāpī, 170 f.n. 4.
Santānikā, 139 f.n. 7, 291, also see
 cream of milk.
Sāntanu, 135 f.n. 1, 170 f.n. 4.
Sāphaka, 22, also see *Sṛigātaka*, 271.
Sāra, 13 f.n. 8, 139 f.n. 7, 291, also
 see cream of curds and *Dādibīṣa*.

Sārabarnka, 135 f.n. 1.
Sārada, 134 f.n. 5, 168 f.n. 3.
Sāragha, 18.
Sāraka, 78 f.n. 7.
Sārāmukha, 168 f.n. 3.
Sāratgeśī, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas, food of, 129, 243.
Sārāvā, 33, 46.
Sārīra, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Sārkārā, 68 f.n. 7, 91 f.n. 7, 144 f.n.
 3, 178, 208, 216.
 varieties, 179.
Kākāsārkārā, 147 f.n. 2.
Pāṭalasārkārā, 179 f.n. 2.
Sārkārāsava, 119 f.n., 152 f.n. 1, 300.
Sārkārāpānaka, 303.
Sārkārāpūrīkā, 291.
Sārkārāśidhu, 152 f.n. 1, 300.
Sārpachatrāka, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sārpi, 37 f.n. 5, 105.
Sārṣapa, 2, 70 f.n., 71 f.n. 3, 92 f.n.
 5, 150 f.n. 1, 265, 277, also see
 mustard.
Sārṣopatāila, 182 f.n. 2.
Sāsana, 16 f.n. 1.
Sāskalī, 59, 70, 88, f.n. 1, 91, 103,
 134, 170 f.n. 1, 291.
Sāttika, 35 f.n. 7, 87, 133, 134, 169,
 261, 263.
 varieties, 263.
Sātalā, 277.
Sātāpusī, 277.
Sātāvarī, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sātan, 42 f.n. 11, 76, 300.
Sāti, 150 f.n. 1, 220, 277.
Sātina, 135 f.n. 3, 150, 277.
Sāttaka, 140, 291.
Sāttba, 79 f.n. 3.
Saucepans, 190.
Saucers, 6.
Sāundīka, 43 f.n. 4.
Sāurāva, 296.
Sāupikala, 16 f.n. 8.
Sāvūra, food & drinks of the people
 of, 148, 181.
Sāvūraka, 181 f.n. 4, 271, 291, 303.
Scum, 60.
Seafaringmen, food of, 166.
Seasalt, 146.
Seasoned meat, 66, 90, 145.
Servants, food of, 100.
Servers of food, 27 f.n. 3.
Sesamum, 4, 10, 20, 42, 70, 93, 113,
 128, 166, 171 f.n. 1, also see *Tīla*.
Sēvikā, 204, 292.

Sheep, 16, 90.
 Shrivelled grain, 2.
Sibira, 134 f.n. 6, 170 f.n. 4.
Siddha pīṭha, 88 f.n. 3.
Siddhārtha, 282.
Siddhanātha, 296.
Sidbu, 75, 119, 186, 300.
 akṣikīśidbu, 152 f.n. 2.
 pakvarasasidbu, 152 f.n. 1.
Sitarasidbu, 152 f.n. 1.
 Sieve, 27, 97.
Sigrū, 277, 282.
Sikakesara, 69, 292.
Sikkariṇī, 63, 140, 174, 292, also see
 Rasālā.
Simbi, 2, 133 f.n. 3, 277.
 Simplicity of food, 82, 100.
Sīcīcīkā, 149 f.n. 1, 271.
Sīpākā, 131, 292.
 Sindhu, food of the people of, 166.
Sīraṇyā, 277.
Sīra, 170 f.n. 4.
Sītabhrūka, 168 f.n. 3.
Sītaphala, 271.
 Slaughter house, 16.
 Slaves, food of, 100.
Sleṣmātaka, 55, 116, 149 f.n. 1, 271, 277.
 Smoking, 163, 197, 255, 256, 257.
Sobālā, *Sobālī*, 292.
Soma, 186.
 Soma juice, 8, 22, 24, 41, 44, 303.
Soup, 88.
 Sour gruel, 2, 92, 97, 146, 166, 181.
 varieties, 146 f.n. 7, 181.
 South Indians, food of, 166, 201, 220,
 221, 222, 235.
Sovra, 77 f.n. 4.
 Spices, 2, 20, 41, 69, 92, 113, 166, 218.
 Spices, A small box for, 98.
 Spikenard, 92.
 Spoons, 190.
 Spittoon, 79, 190.
 Sprouted grains, 97, 173.
Srāddha, 101, 113, 116, 164, 165, 172,
 182, 199, 219.
Srāṇa, 43 f.n. 1.
Srapayītī, 27 f.n. 3.
Sreyasi, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Srikhandā, 292.
Srikukkuṭī, 181, 292.
Sṛगātaka, 71, 72, 114, 150 f.n. 1, 277.
Sṛigavera, 2, 70 f.n., 92 f.n. 5, 282.
Sṛta, 13 f.n. 7, 292.
Sṛusa, 32.

Sṛusa, 32, 46.
Stands, 6.
 Stands for waterpots, 154.
 Steamer, 190.
 Sterile cows, 17.
 Stewpans, 190.
Sthālī, 33, 46, 98 f.n. 5, 258-59.
Sthālpāka, 45, 292.
 Strainer, 23, 32, 76, also see Filter.
 Students, food of, 30, 42 f.n. 1, 81,
 99, 111, 126, 161, 231.
 Stuffing, 113, 142, 145, 172.
Sudarśana, 116, 277.
Sūdra, 47, 50, 57.
Sugabīka, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
 Sugar, 112, 144, 217.
 varieties 144 f.n. 5, also see *Sarkārā*.
 Sugar-industry, 251, 252.
 Sugarcandy 68, 91, 144.
 Sugarcane 19, 41, 68, 112, 143.
 varieties 143 f.n. 8, 178 f.n. 8, 217
 juice 144 f.n. 2, 152, 183.
Suhālī, 204.
Subma, 151.
Sūkashānya, 133 f.n. 4.
Sūkara, 168 f.n. 3.
Sūkaramaddava, 67.
Sūklavṛtī, 10 f.n. 2.
Sūkta, 92 f.n. 9, 146, also see vinegar.
Sūla, 33.
Sūlya, 38 f.n. 5, 177 f.n. 1, 296.
Sūnā, 33.
Sūndibyakṣa, 89, f.n. 5.
Sūndīn, 95 f.n. 4.
Sūniṣappaka, 150 f.n. 1, 184, 220, 277.
Sūntaka, 210, 214, 282, 296.
Sūpa, 37, 62, 65, 77 f.n. 11, 113, 120,
 137 f.n. 292.
Sūphānī, 79 f.n. 2.
Sūrā, 24, 25, 43 f.n. 4, 44, 75, 96 f.n.
 6, 118, 151 f.n. 7, 185, 186, 300.
Sūradibyakṣa, 94 f.n. 11.
Sūrapā, 94, 277.
Sūrasava, 119, 151, 186, 300.
Sūrpā, 33, 46 f.n. 3.
Sūrpa, 150 f.n. 1, 220, 277.
Sūṣapī, 282.
Sūskha-māṇisa, 177 f.n. 1.
Sūskha-tāka, 292.
Sūvarealā, 150 f.n. 1, 164, 278.
Svadibī, 33.
Svastiṇī, 41, 137, 171 f.n. 4, 292.
Svetasurā, 96, 185, 300.
 Sweets, 19, 41, 69, 91, 112, 144, 179,
 217.

Syāmāka, 11 f.n. 5, 37, 60, 134, 135
f.n. 1, 170, 171 f.n. 1, 261.
Syrups, 76, 77, 154, 181, 187.

T

Table manners, 54, 84, 99, 126, 160,
162, 195, 231.
Taboos, 19, 30, 55, 88, 128, 164, 198,
233.
Tailagbata, 98 f.n. 5.
Tailakūra, 182 f.n. 3.
Tailayavādgī, 182 f.n. 3.
Takra, 139 f.n. 7, 174, 208 f.n. 5, 292.
Takrapinḍaka, 175.
Takrāndana, 292.
Tāla, 72 f.n.
Tālakka, 75 f.n. 7, 300.
Tālapbala, 93 f.n. 8, 149 f.n. 1, 272.
Tālapralamība, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Tālasārya, 150 f.n.
Tamarind, 93.
Tāmbula, 2.
Tāmbulakaraka, 190 f.n. 2.
Tāmracarāga, 190 f.n. 2.
Tāndula, 1, 11 f.n. 2, 136 f.n. 3.
Tānguliyaka, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Tānka, 271, 300.
Tāntrikas, 222, f.n. 8, 245.
Tāpaka, 190 f.n. 2.
Tapanīya, 134 f.n. 3, 168.
Tāpikā, 190 f.n. 2.
Tarasa, 2.
Tāruṇī, 278.
Taruṇa, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Tattaka, 78 f.n. 7.
Tawara, 271.
Tejapatra, 282.
Tewana, 181, 209, 292.
Thavikā, 78 f.n. 7.
Tickets for food, 85.
Tikābbojana, 82.
Tila, 70, 71, f.n. 1, 87 f.n. 3, 203 f.n.
1, 265, also see sesamum.
Tilaparnikā, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Tilaparpaṇa, 293.
Tilapīgāvavikṛti, 182 f.n. 7.
Tilaudana, 10 f.n. 7, 292.
Tilavikṛti, 292.
Tilodaka, 77 f.n. 4, 304.
Tilitaīla, 182 f.n. 2.
Tindīsa, 278.
Tinduka, 71, 72, f.n. 149, f.n. 1, 271.
Tintīḍīka, 272.
Titau, 27 f.n. 2, 32.

Todata, 272.
Toddy tapping, 3.
Tojakarmāntika, 187.
Tojaparī, 135 f.n. 1, 170 f.n. 4.
Tojasyāmāka, 170 f.n. 4.
Trapabispinosa, 22.
Trapsyam, 174 f.n. 4.
Traphusa, 150 f.n. 1, 184, 278.
Treacle, 165.
Tripūtaka, 135 f.n. 3, also see *Kalīya*.
Trivita, 165.
Trividhānya, 170 f.n. 4.
Trṣṇāśīya, 149 f.n. 1, 272.
Trpharī, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Trṣṇāśīra, 23 f.n. 10.
Tūda, 149 f.n. 1, 272, also see Mulberry.
Tulasī, 282.
Thimburu, 282.
Tundi, 3.
Turmeric, 2, 20, 63, 92.
Tūryaka, 143 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Turnips, 55.
Tusḍodaka, 77 f.n. 4, 181 f.n. 4, 304.
Tvak, 282.
Tvaritaka, 134 f.n. 4.

U

Uccāvaca bhākṣya, 112.
Udāñicama, 22.
Uddra, 171 f.n. 1, also see *Uddālaka*,
Udaśvit, 174, 208 f.n. 5, 293.
Udbhedaja, 92, 146, 282.
Uddālaka, 134 f.n. 3, 134 f.n. 1, 166,
168 f.n. 3.
Uduṃbara, 42, 73 f.n., 115, 128, 149
f.n. 1, 150 f.n. 1, 217 (Sweets),
220, 272, 278, 293 (Sweets).
Ujjivala, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Ukkhā, 32, 46 f.n. 3, 98 f.n. 5.
Ullupta māṇīsa, 296.
Ulukhala, 32, 46 f.n. 4.
Uhubābī, 138, 293.
Underaka, 138, 298.
Upadomīsa, 43 f.n. 2.
Upamānthamī, 33.
Upasēcana, 65 f.n. 6, 41 f.n. 8.
Upasēranti, 32.
Upasthānatālā, 77 f.n. 5.
Upasīka, 11 f.n. 5, 261.
Upodake, 278.
Upodikā, 150 f.n. 1.
Urubūka, 150 f.n. 1, 184 f.n. 2, 278.
Urumāṇīpa, 149 f.n. 3, 272.

Urvāruka, 22, 92 f.n. 9, 93 f.n. 8, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Uṣanā, 22 f.n. 5.
Uññara, food of the people of; 200.
Uñña, 282.
Uppikā, 35 f.n. 2, 293.
 Utensils, 27, 32, 33, 46, 78, 79, 98, 121, 190, 226.
 —fit for various food articles, 156, 226.
Utkārika, 145, 170, 293.
Utkṛta, 134 f.n. 6, 170 f.n. 4.
Utpala, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Uttaribhāṅgaw, 70, 85, 293.
Utpiṭya, 79 f.n. 2.

V

Vasā, 283.
Vābhīka, food of the people of, 129, 166.
Vaidalāb, 293.
Vājina, 14 f.n. 8, 174 f.n. 6, 293.
Vajrakanda, 93 f.n. 8, 94, 278.
Vallūra, 2.
Vāntāñikura, 278.
Vanamudga, 135 f.n. 3.
Vānsras, drink of, 116.
 —food of, 130.
Vanaspati, 32.
Vanasiktaka, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Vapūśrapaṇi, 46.
Vāpya, 134 f.n. 3, 168 f.n. 3.
Vareś, 79 f.n. 2.
Vāraka, 61 f.n. 87, 134, 135 f.n. 1, 168 f.n. 3.
Vardbamānaka, 121 f.n. 6.
Vārkṣa, 224, 304.
Vārṣabhb, 278.
Vāropalagolaka, 217, 293.
Vārtāka, 149 f.n. 1, 150, 272, 278,
 also see Brinjal.
Vartikā, 145, 293.
Varnyād, 278.
Vārnūti, 75, 116, 118, 132 f.n. 6, 186, 222, 301.
Vasā, 147.
Vāsaka, 165.
Vāśra, 272.
Vāstuka, 150, 184, 220, 278.
Vata, 128.
Vatāka, 2, 37, 62 f.n. 1, 101, 205, 206, 293.
Vātāma, 149 f.n. 1, 272, also see almond.
Vatiṅgana, 2.

Vatsādanī, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Vattimaka, 279.
Vātya, 2, 103, 136 f.n. 3, 293.
 Vedic Indians, food of, 7-32, 240.
Vegetables, 3, 22, 43, 73, 94, 115, 150, 183, 220.
 Vegetarianism, 17, 40, 66-67, 91, 108-11, 145, 178, 215.
 Venison, 64.
Vepuparṇī, 170 f.n. 4.
Vepuyava, 135 f.n. 1, 170 f.n. 6, 171 f.n. 1, 262.
Vessavāra, 113, 142, 145 f.n. 5, 172, 297.
Vestikā, 207, 294.

Vetasa, 150 f.n. 1.
Vestrāgra, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Vetrāphala, 272.
Vibbitakī, 149, 152, 272, 283.
Vida, 113.
Vidālapāka, 205, 294.
Vidārikanda, 150 f.n. 1, 279.
Vikanikāja, 272.
Vilepi, 136 f.n. 1.
Vimardaka, 179, 294, 297.
 Vindhya region, food of the people of, 176.
Vinegar, 70, 92, 146, 165, 181,
 varieties, 147.
Viniya, 43.
Virāḍha dbāndh, 136 f.n. 3.
Virāḍbaka, 294.
Vitvabbesaja, 283.
Vijjārim, 294.
Vijyānda, 137, 294.
Vitānaka, 171, 179, 294.
Vribi, 35, 58, 87, 135, 203 f.n. 1, 262,
 varieties, 134 f.n. 4, 262.
Vṛkadvāmaka, 279.
Vṛkṣāḍanī, 279.
Vṛkṣāmla, 272.
Vṛṣapuṣpa, 150 f.n. 1, 278.
Vṛṣapūpahkā, 279.
Vjanjana, 41 f.n. 8, 70, 77, 85, 181
 f.n. 4, 218, 294.

W

Water, 3, 26, 45, 76, 119, 153, 187,
 224.
 —purification of, 153, 224.
 water-suitable for different seasons,
 224.
 Waterjars, 98, 121.
 Watermelon, 2.

Waterpots, 98.
 Weighing-balance, 98.
 Weights, 90 f.n. 1, 98.
 Wheat, 4, 9, 11, 31, 35, 88, 135, 166,
 170, 171 f.n. 1.
 varieties, 135, 170.
 Whey 139 f.n. 7, 165, 208.
 Widows, food of, 42 f.n. 1.
 Wines, 166, also see Intoxicating
 drinks.
 Winnowing basket, 98.
 Women, food of, 100.
 Wooden tubs, 23.

Y

Yāga, 59.

Yātuśka, 150 f.n. 1, 279.
Yasa, 7 f.n. 3, 34 f.n. 2, 88 f.n. 2,
 185, 203 f.n. 1, 263, also see Barley.
Yavāgu, 9 f.n. 2, 35, 88 f.n. 3, 103,
 136 f.n. 1, 171, 171 f.n. 3, 294.
Yavaka, 35 f.n. 6, 103, 134 f.n. 3,
 168 f.n. 3.
Yāvaka, 35, 88 f.n. 3, 294.
Yavakṣāra, 92 f.n. 3, 283.
Yavāni, 34 f.n. 2, 88 f.n. 2, 279, 285.
Yavasākha, 130 f.n. 1, 279.
Yavāsañkarā, 144, 179.
Yavodaka, 77 f.n. 4, 304.
Yūja, 61, 137 f.n. 6, 173, 294, 279,
 304.
Yūthikā, 279.



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